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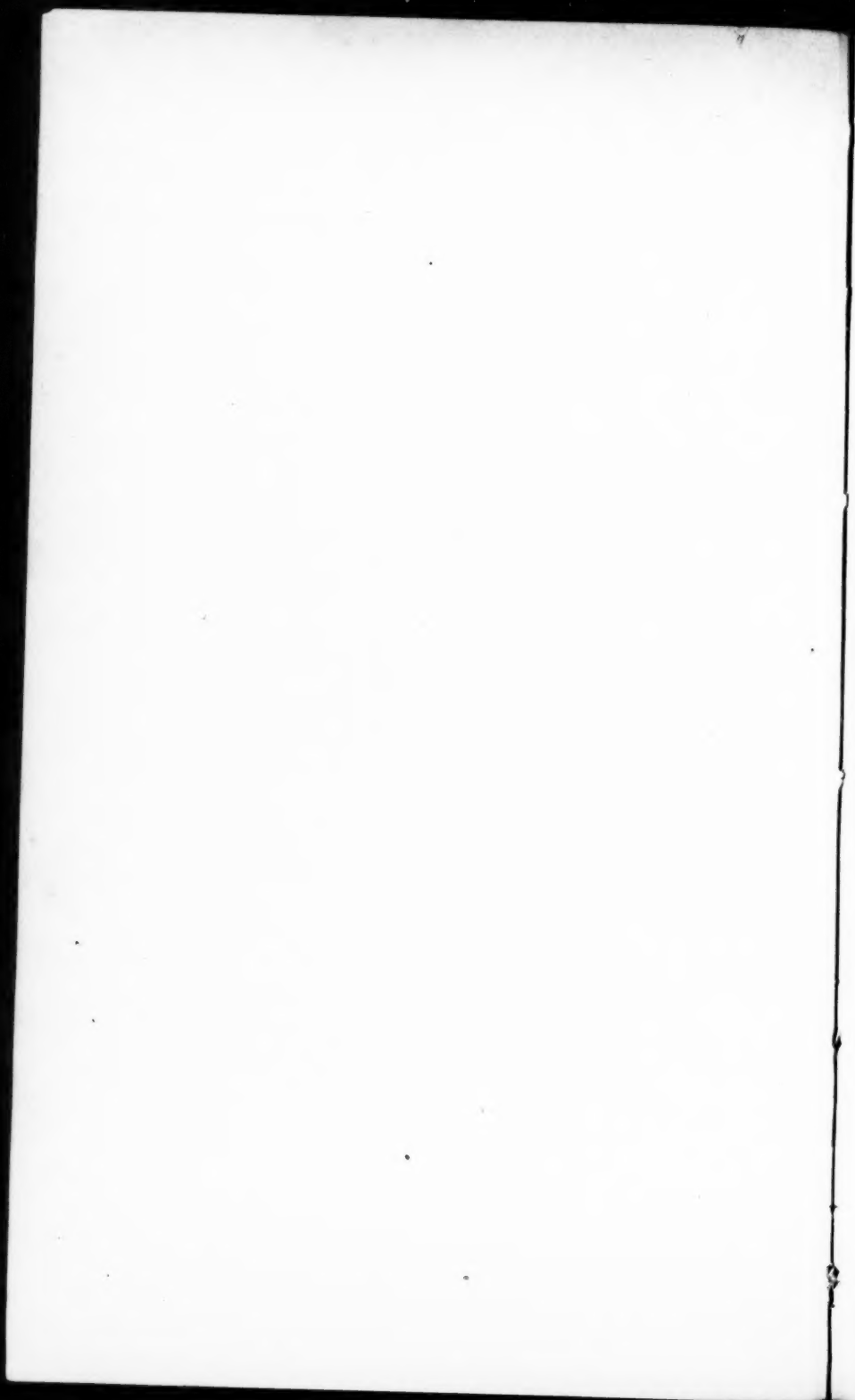
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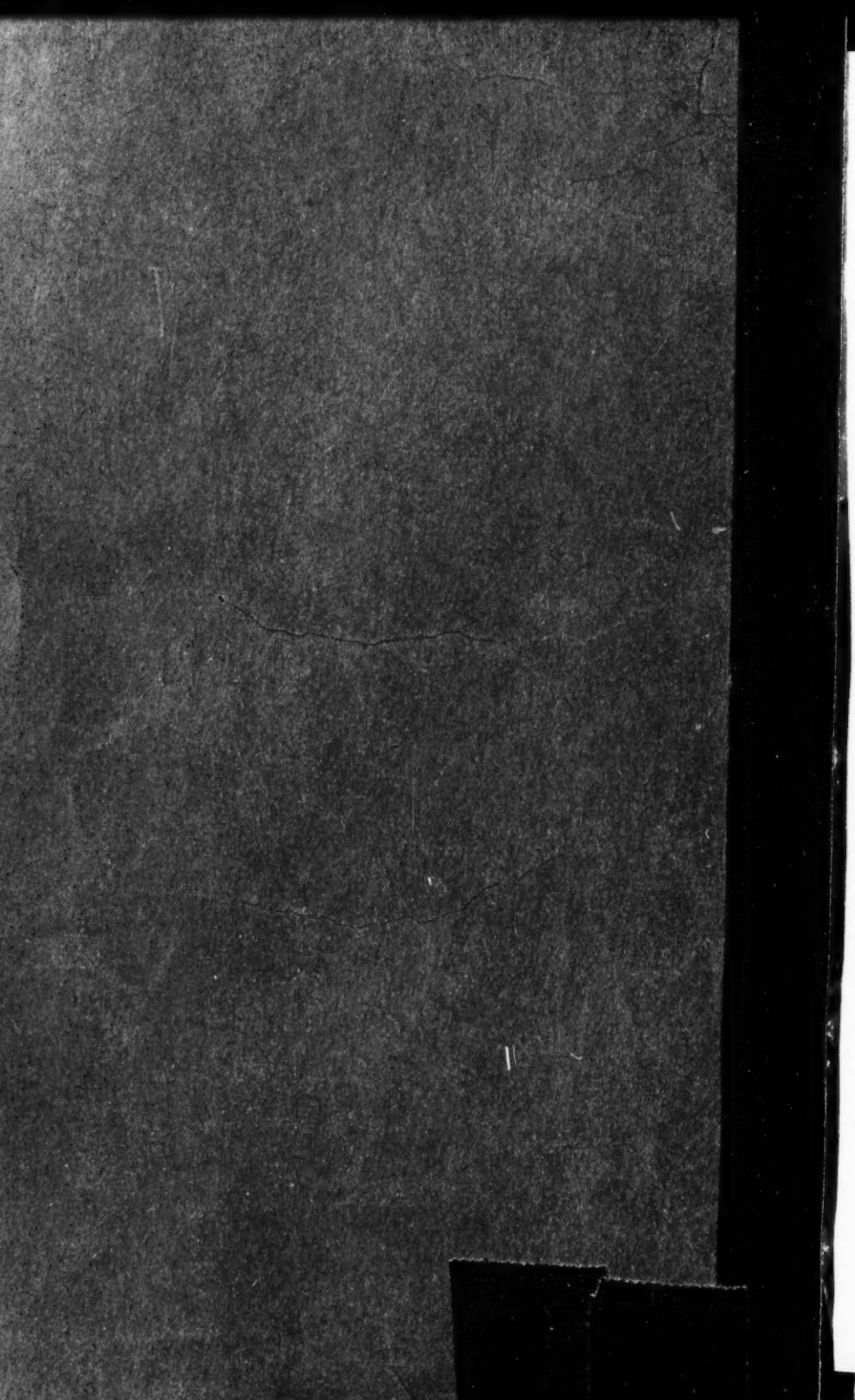
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The analysis of language, together with the sciences of number and magnitude, have been long employed as the chief elements of intellectual education. At a very early period, the study of Geometry was regarded as a very important mental discipline, as may be shewn from the seventh book of the Republic of Plato. To his testimony may be added that of the celebrated Pascal, (*Œuvres*, Tom. I. p. 66,) which Mr Hallam has quoted in his *History of the Literature of the Middle Ages*. "Geometry," Pascal observes, "is almost the only subject as to which we find truths wherein all men agree; and one cause of this is, that geometers alone regard the true laws of demonstration." These

are enumerated by him as eight in number. 1. To define nothing which cannot be expressed in clearer terms than those in which it is already expressed. 2. To leave no obscure or equivocal terms undefined. 3. To employ in the definition no terms not already known. 4. To omit nothing in the principles from which we argue, unless we are sure it is granted. 5. To lay down no axiom which is not perfectly evident. 6. To demonstrate nothing which is as clear already as we can make it. 7. To prove every thing in the least doubtful, by means of self-evident axioms, or of propositions already demonstrated. 8. To substitute mentally the definition instead of the thing defined. Of these rules he says, "the first, fourth, and sixth are not absolutely necessary to avoid error, but the other five are indispensable; and though they may be found in books of logic, none but the geometers have paid any regard to them."

If we consider the nature of Geometrical and Algebraical reasoning, it will be evident that there is a marked distinction between them. To comprehend the one, the whole process must be kept in view from the commencement to the conclusion; while in Algebraical reasonings, on the contrary, the mind loses the distinct perception of the particular Geometrical magnitudes compared; the attention is altogether withdrawn from the things signified, and confined to the symbols, with the performance of certain mechanical operations, according to rules of which the rationale may or may not be comprehended by the student. It must be obvious that greater fixedness of attention is required in the former of these cases, and that habits of close and patient observation, of careful and accurate discrimination will be formed by it, and the purposes of mental discipline more fully answered. In these remarks it is by no means intended to undervalue the methods of reasoning by means of symbolical language, which are no less important than Geometry. It appears, however, highly desirable that the provinces of Geometrical and Algebraical reasoning were more definitely settled than they are at present, at least in those branches of science which are employed as a means of mental discipline. The boundaries of Science have been extended by means of the higher analysis; but it must not be forgotten that this has been effected by men well skilled in Geometry and fully able to give a Geometrical interpretation of the results of their operations; and though it may be admitted that the higher analysis is the more powerful instrument for that purpose, it may still be questioned whether it be well suited to

form the chief discipline of ordinary intellects without a previous knowledge of the principles of Geometry, and some skill in their application. Though the method of Geometrical analysis is very greatly inferior in power to the Algebraical, yet as supplementary to the *Elements* of Euclid, it is of great importance. It may be added, that a sound knowledge of the ancient geometry is the best introduction to the pursuits of the higher analysis and its extensive applications. On this subject the judgment of Sir Isaac Newton has been recorded by Dr Pemberton, in the preface to his view of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries. He says: "Newton censured the handling of geometrical subjects by algebraical calculations. He used to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo d'Omerique (in his '*Analysis Geometrica Nova et Vera*,') to restore the ancient analysis, and very much esteemed the tract of '*Apollonius De Sectione Rationis*,' for giving us a clearer notion of that analysis than we had before. The taste and mode of geometrical demonstration of the ancients he professed to admire, and even censured himself for not having more closely followed them than he did: and spoke with regret of his mistake, at the beginning of his mathematical studies, in applying himself to the works of Descartes and other algebraical writers, before he had considered the *Elements* of Euclid with the attention they deserve."

Regarding the study of Geometry as a means of mental discipline, it is obviously desirable that the student should be accustomed to the use of accurate and distinct expressions, and even to formal syllogisms. In most sciences our definitions of things are in reality only the results of the analysis of our own imperfect conceptions of the things; and in no science, except that of number, do the conceptions of the things coincide so exactly (if we may use the expression) with the things themselves, as in Geometry. Hence, in geometrical reasonings, the comparison made between the ideas of the things, becomes almost a comparison of the things themselves. The language of pure Geometry is always precise and definite. The demonstrations are effected by the comparison of magnitudes which remain unaltered, and the constant use of terms whose meaning does not on any occasion vary from the sense in which they were defined. It is this peculiarity which renders the study so valuable as a mental discipline: for we are not to suppose that the habits of thought thus acquired, will be necessarily confined to the consideration of lines, angles, surfaces and solids. The process of deduction pursued in Geometry from certain admitted principles and possible

constructions to their consequences, and the rigidly exact comparison of those consequences with known and established truths, can scarcely fail of producing such habits of mind as will influence most beneficially our reasonings on all subjects that may come before us.

In support of the views here maintained, that Geometrical studies form one of the most suitable and proper introductory elements of a scientific education, we may add the judgment of a distinguished living writer, the author of "The History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," who has shewn, in his "Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics," that mathematical studies judiciously pursued, form one of the most effective means of developing and cultivating the reason: and that "the object of a *liberal education* is to develope the whole mental system of man;—to make his speculative inferences coincide with his practical convictions;—to enable him to render a reason for the belief that is in him, and not to leave him in the condition of Solomon's sluggard, who is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that *can* render a reason." To this we may sub-join that of Mr John Stuart Mill, which he has recorded in his invaluable System of Logic, (Vol. II. p. 180) in the following terms. "The value of Mathematical instruction as a preparation for those more difficult investigations (physiology, society, government, &c.) consists in the applicability not of its doctrines, but of its method. Mathematics will ever remain the most perfect type of the Deductive Method in general; and the applications of Mathematics to the simpler branches of physics, furnish the only school in which philosophers can effectually learn the most difficult and important portion of their art, the employment of the simpler phenomena for explaining and predicting those of the more complex. These grounds are quite sufficient for deeming mathematical training an indispensable basis of real scientific education, and regarding, with Plato, one who is ἀγεωμέτρητος, as wanting in one of the most essential qualifications for the successful cultivation of the higher branches of philosophy."

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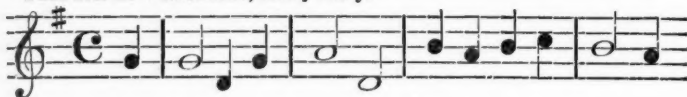
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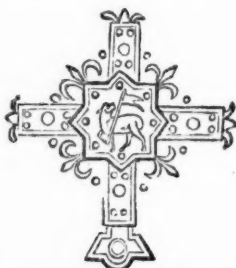
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[The following address respecting the above-named periodical is extracted from the number for January, 1847.]

A FEW WORDS TO OUR READERS.

It has long been a privilege conceded to editors of publications like our own, to spend a page or two at the commencement of fresh volumes in a sort of personal and confidential communication with readers, and we gladly avail ourselves of the good custom on the present occasion, as we want to talk with our friends over the present position and prospects of the CATHOLIC INSTRUCTOR. For three years, or nearly so, has this periodical been amongst us, welcomed warmly, we are told, by many, as they saw it in the hands of congregations, or read at family firesides; yet the truth must be known, general success, or, in other words, extent of sale, has been by no means in proportion to individual praises. What, we wish to ask, are the causes of this discrepancy and comparative failure? Was a weekly or monthly magazine like the present one desirable amongst us, or must the editor console himself with the conviction that to his own insufficiency alone ought miscarriage be assigned? Before deciding upon giving up the work, let us, for a few moments, look again to the purposes for which it was established, and if it fall, let us, in good humour, discuss the reasons why such fate must befall it.

The Catholic Instructor arose among a series of publications commonly called the Derby Reprints, and which from the first were received with unexampled favour. The extraordinary sale of these cheap works

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showed beyond cavil the need we had of them. Nor was it requisite to interfere with vested interests or laws of copyright in selecting books proper for low-priced editions. Authors justly deserve recompense for time and expense bestowed on their literary labours, and so the cost of first and following editions must be generally high; but many had written for our faith and to uphold our morality, who had died fifty or a hundred years ago, who were neither willing nor able to leave personal charges on their writings, and whose dearest wish had been that their books should be circulated as cheaply and widely as possible—books clearer, stronger, wiser than any published of late years. There could be no reason given why such books should not be sold as cheaply as the most exciting novel or song-book, provided we (and especially the clergy) exercised the commonest union. Methodists, Baptists, or Independants are by no means so numerous as are the Catholics of the United Empire and colonies, and yet when any publications of sectaries have passed the term of copyright, and are believed to be useful, (take for instance, Watts' and Wesley's Hymn-books, Antidotes to Popery, and the like,) they have been printed fifty times more frequently, in every form and at every price, and are usually sold fifty per cent cheaper than our own! Such are the benefits of competition and earnest purpose among them in the printing of important volumes; not only all monopoly is destroyed as far as these books are concerned, but every old worshipper finds an edition to his taste, and the very variety and profusion of the reprints make, beyond a doubt, fresh readers and converts. We have worked a little in this way, because many of the books printed at Derby were the most valuable belonging to the British Catholic, and because they were sold at low prices, and because a little unanimity in regard to these publications prevailed among a few priests; but, notwithstanding some good done in this way in Dublin, and some in this town, *it is scarce'y exaggeration to say that a thousand times as much might be done, if we consider our numbers, and could only rely on better organization.*

And does not this argument apply to periodical as well as less fugitive literature? The Methodist (shilling) Magazine had, at one period, we have been told, a circulation of thirty thousand a month; the Congregational nearly equalled it; and for a long time, it is said, the Penny Magazine found eighty thousand purchasers, either weekly or monthly. On the other hand, no serial publication amongst British and Irish Catholics, a body comprising, at the lowest estimate, *eight millions* of souls, has ever reached a sale of seven thousand copies! How strange, how lamentable the contrast! Surely we must come to one of these conclusions, that it matters little whether periodical writing be in favour of our faith or against it; or, that we are deprived of the means of employing printers; or of forming some central system of publication, or without the power of influencing clergy and people to anything approaching unanimity of support. While we are knit together by the ties of Faith, must we prove our liberty by eschewing

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all combination, however useful, provided we are able to suspect that we are not bound by our faith to such combination?

But can it be said to be a subject of indifference to the great Catholic Society of these countries, 'in what manner,' to use the language of Milton, 'books demean themselves?' The very establishment of the '*Index*' proves that the Church watches with extreme earnestness the products of the press. Opinion is very greatly formed by them, and now, while we are striving in this kingdom to purify and exalt old opinions in ourselves, and to turn that which has been tainted by schism and heresy into wholesome faith, it behoves us more than ever to look well to *serial* literature, which becomes the reflex of public opinion, and to supersede what is bad, (there is no other way,) by that which is good. In these days some creeds, as they are termed, are dying of pure inanition, like the Quakers and Unitarians; some are courting new names, in order to conceal changes of opinion, or trepan wandering bands of alien dissenters—as the Independants, Presbyterians, and Calvinists—preferring now the comprehensive title of Congregationalists; while the great Anglican formation, with all its tendency to be inert, shakes with the loss of many a fair pillar cut by God out of its sides, manifesting to the world, beyond denial, that the Articles, and Rubrics, and Book of Common Prayer, as originally laid down, are in their obvious sense, by a general and silent conspiracy, at last everywhere trampled on and scorned. In times like these, then, and in a country where what is styled Truth is nothing more than opinion, and that opinion ever shifting, can we venture to be cold about periodicals and current religious literature, a very great solace, frequently, to the believer, and a light to the benighted in error? Can we conscientiously say, that we have not means to take, or time to recommend them, when we find, readily, means and time for much less important occupations,—and when we know that by opening fresh and various fountains of knowledge instinct with Catholic life, in the domains of our own language, we not only slake the thirst of our youth, and lessen that anxiety which we experience at present, lest they imbibe death from poisonous sources, but imperceptibly and surely affect the taste of the country, by offering it biography without prejudice, romance without licentiousness, travels without lies, and religion without distortion. With the exception of books of controversy and morality, (undoubtedly most excellent), and Lingard's history, and some half a dozen other works, where are the learning and taste of Catholics to be seen printed in our own far-spread language? Echo, indeed, answers *where*?

In thus venturing to rebuke the apathy of the greater portion of English and Irish Catholics for not fostering more affectionately attempts which have been made to impress our language with Catholic doctrine and sentiment, it is clear that, personally, *we* cannot complain much, and it is equally clear that *we* cannot give reality to the idea. Thank God, we have still the Dublin Review amongst us, the admirable essays

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in which have long and powerfully influenced many, and which will survive the occasions giving them birth; may every priest think it a duty to buy a copy, and prevail on every one in his congregation, who is able and zealous for the true faith, to do the same. Thank God, Catholic histories, and many works of science and imagination are in the press, or in a state of forwardness, and that, we hear, a course of popular school-books, animated by sound judgment and right feeling, is seriously planned. For our parts, we set ourselves a much commoner labour,—to provide reading for the poor and the young, and for those who, having fed, perhaps, on the marvellous of the world, needed the marvellous of the good to make virtue attractive. *By this purpose must this magazine be judged*; and since these classes form so large a part of our population, we rested on the hope of abundant patronage from higher intelligences than those we catered for, if our work were fairly done. Before good books can reach the simple and poor, (at least it is so in *this* country, in *our* communion,) the learned and rich must labour to make them known. Again, we have hardly any Catholic tales, or tracts, or biographies, such as are seen in stalls and in booksellers' windows, and sold for a penny or two-pence, and which are read at the cottage-window, or taken home as presents from the school-room; we looked forward to the time when the Catholic Instructor would be an ample repertory of such stories, and when a future tract society would select not a few for its purposes. Again, many are accustomed to take some one periodical or other for their families, and if no Catholic one suit their means or tastes, continue to purchase the one least repugnant to their creed, and in this manner often imbibe not a little *scepticism* which they mistake for *liberality*; we have worked in the hope that we should counteract such mischief, and that a design so obviously good needed no great solicitation in behalf of the magazine attempting it. With what success we have laboured two facts will testify. We have heard of one congregation, comprising eight hundred communicants, in which some thirty or forty copies of Chambers's Magazine are taken, but in which not more than *eight* of any Catholic periodicals are sold! Again, we have good reason to believe that of our own monthly circulation, at least one-third of it is among those who do not, at present, profess our faith!

But enough of aims, and an end of repinings; be the fault whose it may, it is quite evident that a penny weekly magazine, or a fourpenny monthly, has not yet met with encouragement sufficient to repay the publishers, and we come to the question, to help answering which has been the purpose of the preceding remarks,—*shall we discontinue the Catholic Instructor?* We are desirous of being guided entirely by the advice of our friends, or if any of our clerical brethren who have written so pressingly in favour of going on with the work will undertake it, we will cheerfully surrender it to them. That such a magazine *can* succeed, if properly supported, is a truth put beyond the power of doubt, and

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in other hands it may prosper more certainly than ours. If it be of service we shall grieve that any good should be lost, but beyond this motive we have no reason to care a rush whether it be continued for another day. A right honourable Peer, whose praise is in all our churches, and the breath of whose life seems to be zeal only for everything Catholic, has been so good as to advise us to go on with this Miscellany, recommending at the same time, that a better paper be used, and the price raised to sixpence. We need scarcely say how grateful we are for such counsel, and if we defer the immediate consideration of it, it is merely because the next month or two will decide the fate of the Instructor, and for so short a period it is hardly worth while making a change; and again, because if there was a general interest among the clergy to obtain as many subscribers as possible in their congregations, the present charge would suffice for a good magazine. Were the price indeed raised to sixpence monthly and three-halfpence weekly, not only a better paper, but other improvements might be secured.

In the meanwhile, whatever verdict the sale of the next month or two may pass on the Instructor, be it a fresh lease of life or final oblivion, we seize this occasion to thank most cordially all who have supported this Magazine, and particularly our numerous contributors. If we may be allowed to make individual references in the latter class, our warmest gratitude is due to the good authoress of the 'Letters from Belgium,' to many at St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw, a college loved in the same proportion that it is known, and to the Rev. friend who proffers us a series of papers on poor schools, if we continue the Instructor. To these, to writers, readers, and all, we heartily wish the new year's and all other blessings.

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produced, and which will be to enquirers really in earnest about their souls, an argument more cogent than any that mere controversy can allege: and 3. To satisfy a humble desire which they feel to spread the honour and love of the ever blessed Queen of Saints, by showing how greatly an intense devotion to her aided in forming those prodigies of heroic virtue with which the Holy Ghost has been pleased to adorn the Church since the schism of Luther, *more than in almost any previous times*, and whose actions, with a few exceptions, are known to English laymen only in a very general way, and from meagre abridgments; while the same motive will prevent the series being confined to modern Saints *exclusively*.

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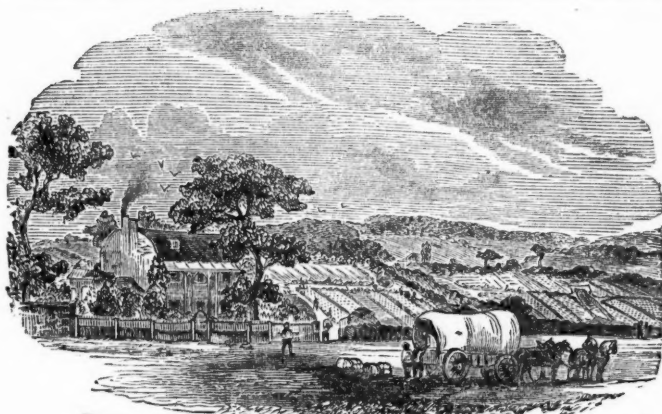
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I remain Sir, your obedient and grateful servant,

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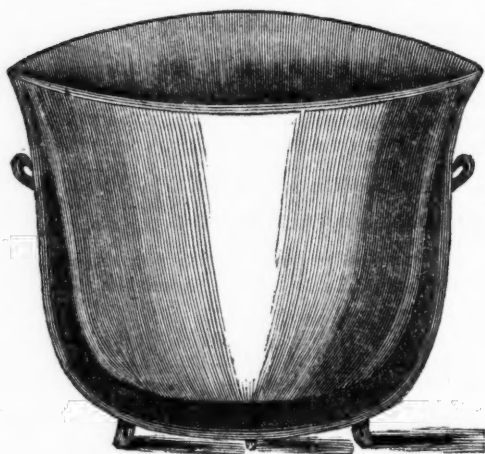
The Rates will be found as low as those of other respectable Companies. In their calculation, the Directors have had in view an immediate, rather than a contingent benefit to the Assured, by which the Assured avoid the responsibility which the latter would involve.

The Income derived from this branch is reserved, forming an accumulating and inviolable fund for the exclusive discharge of Life Policies, and, with a large funded Capital, affords to the Assured with this Company an amount of security not surpassed by any similar establishment in the Kingdom.

Losses paid without Deduction.

A powerful Engine always in readiness at the Company's Engine-house, Anglesea Street.

JOSEPH TODHUNTER, SECRETARY.

SHAW AND SON'S POLENTA POT.

REGISTERED

AGREEABLY TO

Act of Parliament.

31st AUGUST,

1846.

No. 805.

**DIRECTIONS TO COOK RICE AND
INDIAN CORN.**

INDIAN MEAL and RICE being hard grain, require very nearly the same treatment. Put half a pound of rice with a quart of water into a pot or saucepan, with a close fitted lid, to boil ; if your pot be of thin metal, be careful to lift it off the fire when the water is absorbed, and place it on a hob or hot hearth for some minutes, when the rice will be found quite dry, the grains swelled, soft, separate, and fit for use ; a thick bottomed pot is essentially necessary to boil rice to perfection, permitting it to be fully steamed, free from burning and to turn out dry and loose ; to strain rice through a colander to separate it from the superabundant water is a waste of the nutritious qualities of the rice, rendering it poor and insipid.

Rice and Turnips a substitute for the Potatoes.

Boil your rice, as above mentioned, in a thick bottomed pot or saucepan, and then put in an equal quantity of well boiled mashed turnips, and mix them together as you would mash potatoes, when seasoned with butter, lard or dripping, the compound forms a most agreeable dish.

The Yellow Indian Meal a good Breadstuff and a substitute for the Potatoes,

To make a breadstuff, called by the Italians Polenta, should also be cooked in a thick bottomed pot, to prevent burning and waste. Put your pot on the fire with the required water, salted to your taste, and when it boils throw in your meal (one lb. to every quart of water) all at once without mixing, and cover the pot up closely, and let it boil for ten minutes; the meal by this time will be quite hot and dry, lift off the pot and take a stout flat bottomed pounder and knead the dough against the hot bottom of the pot for a few minutes, when it will be done sufficiently to form a most excellent and palatable potato loaf.

To make a breadstuff of the Polenta, take a wooden slice, or flat stick, and compress the loaf into a bowl or shape, to give it a firmness, turn it back into the pot to bake and keep warm till required for use, when it will be found a wholesome and nutritious substitute for the wheaten loaf at breakfast, for about a third of the money.

To make Polenta a Dainty.

Slice it in half-inch thicknesses and fry it in a pan with a little butter, lard or dripping, and you will have a most excellent repast, but with the addition of soft sugar and spirits, it forms a most delicious confectionary; in fact, a good housekeeper will soon learn to prepare either Rice or Indian Meal with many additions of her own, to make it welcome by variety, as a substantial meal for the strong and healthy, as well as a delicate repast for the weak and sickly.

THE POLENTA POT

Is made after the Italian shape, slightly conical, to afford room for working the dough, and thick at the bottom that you may have a strong heat without risk of burning, for if any portion of the dough is burned or scorched, it forms a cinder which will not mix with the dough, and spoils it.

The Polenta Pot, makes a complete digester, by which meats, and even bones are made into soups, broths, and jellies, in a very short time. The lids fit steam tight, and are measured of such a weight as to yield at the safety degree of pressure. The lid, from its form, will fall into its place like a valve when raised by the steam, and is not liable to get out of order like those made with safety valves, so that you can stew, bake, or boil with the greatest safety.

These Pots are sold wholesale only by the Patentees, SHAW and SON, Printers, 40, *Lower Ormond-quay*, and retailed by all respectable Ironmongers in the United Kingdom.



ROWLAND'S ODONTO, OR PEARL DENTIFRICE.

PATRONISED BY

HER MAJESTY "THE QUEEN,"

H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT, AND THE ROYAL FAMILY, OF
GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE SEVERAL SOVEREIGNS
AND COURTS OF EUROPE.

THE importance of possessing A FINE SET OF TEETH is universally acknowledged by all who attach the due value to *Personal Advantages* and the *blessings of health*. A regular, firm and pearly row of teeth ever insures favourable impressions, while the indispensable agencies which they fulfil in respect to the functions of health, demand our utmost care and attention in their preservation.

Disorders of the Teeth, however slightly regarded, are inevitably attended with evils which affect the whole system. Whatever renders mastication painful or imperfect, not only lessens our relish and enjoyment of food, but also prevents that perfect comminution and mixture of it with the saliva which is indispensable to perfect digestion; and hence arise an endless train of diseases of the stomach, while at the same time the body is deprived of its wonted nourishment, and the whole system languishes in a state of discomfort and disease.

Perhaps among all the disagreeable consequences that follow fast the decay of the Teeth, *an impure breath* must be the most mortifying to its possessor, as it is the most generally offensive in society.

The DECAY of the TEETH arises from various causes; but, principally, it may be attributed to *early neglect, ill health, or the use of Tooth Powders containing mineral and other deleterious acids, which give a momentary whiteness to the teeth, while they corrode the enamel!*—The extreme prevalence of this last cause is too well known to need comment. To this fact, indeed, is principally to be attributed the long Botanical Research which has happily terminated by the most felicitous discovery ever given to the world for the PRESERVATION of the TEETH, GUMS, and BREATH, viz.:—

ROWLAND'S ODONTO, OR PEARL DENTIFRICE,

A WHITE POWDER FOR THE TEETH, composed of the choicest and most *Recherché Ingredients of the Oriental Herbal*; the leading requisites of *cleanliness* and efficacy being present in the highest possible degree. It extirpates all *tartarous adhesions* to the TEETH, and insures a PEARL-LIKE WHITENESS to the *enamelled surface*. ITS ANTI-SEPTIC and ANTI-SCORBUTIC PROPERTIES exercise a highly beneficial and salutary influence; they arrest the further progress of decay of the Teeth, induce a healthy action of the GUMS, and cause them to assume the brightness and colour indicative of perfect soundness; while, by confirming their adhesion to the TEETH, they give unlimited enjoyment and fresh zest to appetite, by perpetuating effective and complete mastication. The BREATH also, from the salubrious and disinfecting qualities of the ODonTO, attains a sweetness and fragrance truly grateful to its possessor.

The Proprietors of this Dentifrice pledge themselves, that its efficacy in preserving and embellishing the Teeth far surpasses anything of the kind ever offered to the Public.

As the most efficient and fragrant aromatic purifier of the BREATH, TEETH, and GUMS ever known, ROWLAND'S ODONTO has for a long series of years occupied a distinguished place at the TOILETS of the SOVEREIGNS and the NOBILITY throughout Europe; while the general demand for it at once announces the favour in which it is universally held. Price 2s. 9d. per Box.

CAUTION.—To protect the Public from Fraud, the *Hon. Commissioners of Stamps* have directed the Proprietors' Name and Address, thus—**A. ROWLAND & SON, 20, Hatton Garden**, to be engraved on the Government Stamp, and which is affixed on each Box.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL.

* This ELEGANT, FRAGRANT, and TRANSPARENT OIL, in its *preservative, restorative, and beautifying* qualities for the Human Hair, is unequalled over the whole world. Price 3s. 6d.—7s.—Family Bottles (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that size 21s.

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UNPRINCIPLED INDIVIDUALS, for the sake of gaining a trifle more profit, vend the most SPURIOUS COMPOUNDS under the same names. It is therefore highly necessary to see that the word "**ROWLAND'S**" is on the Wrapper of each Article.

* * * All others are **FRAUDULENT IMITATIONS.**

The Genuine Preparations are sold by the Proprietors, as above, and by Chemists and Perfumers.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1847.

ART. I.—*La Regola e le Costituzioni delle Religiose nominate Sorelle della Misericordia.* Roma: 1846.

IN a quiet and retired street on the southern side of our metropolis, the visitor will observe a house of considerable size, removed a few yards back from the buildings in its vicinity. It is rendered still more remarkable by a row of tall trees growing immediately in front, and imparting to it an air of semirural seclusion. The appearance of these trees, which almost completely intercept the view of the street, will lead him to suspect that the building is tenanted by persons of very different tastes and dispositions, from those who ordinarily dwell in the broad streets of the fashionable quarters of a great city. There are few of these who do not wish to see the dress, the appearance, the equipages of the passers by, and it sometimes happens that they are not unwilling to be seen themselves. But the inmates of the house to which we allude, are not, it will easily be seen, of this description; and if the observer has any further doubt upon the matter, it will be at once dispelled, if he notices the constant succession of poor careworn and seemingly afflicted creatures that present themselves at the door. This will effectually convince him that it is not inhabited by any of those gay and thoughtless children of fashion, who with the selfishness but too common to their class, seek their own happiness alone, and have little concern or solicitude for the cares and miseries of others, nor by any of those numerous men of business, who

are just and honest in their dealings with their fellow-men, but keep their tenderness and affection for the members of their own immediate family. It is not to the homes of these that the poor child can come to apply for the priceless gift of knowledge, that unlike the other gifts the wealthy bestow, make not the giver poorer than he was before. It is not to the homes of these that the suffering afflicted mother can apply for help, for him or her whose health and well-being are dearer to her than her own. It is not from such as these that the poor friendless female can seek protection; for, alas! either the pampered menial drives her with scorn from the threshold, or if admitted, some greater evil than distress and poverty often awaits her within their doors. He will also perceive the countenance of the needy applicant to brighten with the smile of hope and satisfaction as they come and go, and thence be led to conclude by obvious inference, that their petition has been received and their wants attended to, in a spirit very different indeed from that modern legislative relief, which holds with un pitying hand the scales between the claims of utter destitution upon the one side, and the stern threats of despairing famine upon the other, and will give the one only just as much as will save society from the dangers of the other. He will perceive that it is not one of those institutions which have been established according to the cold maxims of political economy for the mitigation of social misery; and if he asks some one child of the many he will see either entering or coming out, repeating perhaps to her companion the lesson of her catechism she has just received, or accosts one of the poor women who meet him at the entrance, and inquires the name and occupations of those to whom the mansion belongs, he will be answered joyfully and with some expression of wonder at his seeming ignorance, that the house about which he is so curious and solicitous, is a convent of the Sisters of Mercy.

Before we conduct him to the interior of this establishment, we must premise a few words of notice on the good and holy woman to whom it owes its existence. Mrs. Catherine McAuley, was born at Stormanstown House in the neighbourhood of Dublin, on the 17th of September in the year 1778. She was the eldest of a family of three children. At a very early age she had the misfortune of losing her father, who was a truly edifying and religious

Catholic. Among his other practices of piety, he was accustomed to gather round him on Sundays and Holidays the poor children who lived in his neighbourhood, for the purpose of instructing them in their catechism. His daughter, though young when he died, was yet old enough to recollect this circumstance, and the recollection was always wont to exercise a salutary influence on her in after life. His wife, who had no great liking for this sort of occupation, and who was far from being animated with a kindred spirit, often remonstrated with him on what she was accustomed to consider the unsuitableness of such an employment for a person of his age and condition. But no remonstrance could induce him to abandon the good work in which he found great pleasure, and which he found to be attended with great advantages. If the religious instruction of the poor be even in our days a work of decided utility, how much more useful must it have been when the religious institutions of the country were but beginning to emerge from the pressure of those restrictions, to which they had been subjected by the intolerance and enactments of the preceding centuries. Whatever may have been the loss of the poor children in the vicinity of Stormanstown House when their kind benefactor died, greater still was that of his afflicted family; and when in a short time his wife followed him to the grave, the three children became orphans indeed. Their extreme youth, while it lessened in some measure their sense of the affliction, made that affliction the more calamitous. On the death of their parents, a Protestant gentleman in Dublin, who was some connection or at least a friend of the family, took compassion on the children, and assumed the responsibility of their education; and whatever means they had, which were not considerable, were applied to their subsistence and instruction. Brought up in this manner, in the midst of a Protestant family, and secluded from all intercourse with the members of the religion to which their parents belonged, the consequences to the younger children may be easily conjectured. Catherine the eldest, having been more perfectly imbued with Catholic principles, or at least having more of Catholic feeling, though she knew little of Catholic doctrine, was in some degree able to resist the influences to which she was exposed. She was not a Protestant, but still could scarcely be called a Catholic. She had received no religious instruction since her father's death, and seldom

if ever went to a place of Catholic worship. The memory of her father, and her affectionate veneration for his virtue, would now and then come strongly on her mind, to endear the faith of which he was a member. But such a sentiment, however it may have encouraged her to persevere, could scarcely produce conviction; and she grew up to the age of womanhood, without any fixed or decided religious opinions. If an observation was made in company and in her presence reflecting on Catholics or their practices, it always gave her pain, and she was often forced to listen with silent indignation, to remarks, which from ignorance, she was unable to refute.

Feeling however each day more and more the insecurity of her spiritual condition, and the want of some spiritual assistance, she resolved to try, if by her own study and examination, she could determine which of the two religions had the most cogent arguments in its favour, and to which she could with most safety entrust the guardianship of her spiritual interests. Having a sincere regard for the persons in whose house she lived, and who had always treated her personally with uniform kindness and attention, she sought to ascertain whether she could with a safe conscience embrace their creed, and join them in religious communion. She read their books, heard their explanations, discussed with them the several points in which they differed, and endeavoured to persuade herself of the truth of the Protestant religion. But, alas! the more she read, for she had a strong and vigorous understanding, and the more she thought and studied upon the subject, the stronger did her doubts become. The earthly and interested motives in which Protestantism had its origin, the violence, contradictions, and mutual dissension of its authors, the want of those salutary ordinances, which the experience of her own heart told her were necessary for spiritual improvement, demonstrated most convincingly, that the spirit which produced what is called the Reformation, and which animated the reformers, could not have been the spirit of God. Whatever inclination she may at any time have had to become a Protestant, utterly died away within her in the progress of the inquiry.

Baffled and disappointed in this direction, she turned her attention to the consideration of Catholic doctrine. She procured some books, and read them with the most serious and profound attention. It has been already stated

that she always cherished a secret partiality for the religion of her parents, and was therefore rejoiced to find, that the objections she had so often heard urged against it, had their source either in ignorance or misrepresentation. Having also a strong and instinctive yearning after piety, perfection, and usefulness to her fellow-creatures, she found to her great delight, that her most sanguine desires in this respect admitted of being realized. The antiquity of its institutions, which she could so easily trace back to the apostolic times; the universality of its diffusion, which marked it as the one that was alone able to fulfil the divine injunction of baptizing and teaching the nations; the holiness of its members and the efficacy of its sacramental observances, which promised to realize the highest aspirations of her devotional fervour, made the most powerful and favourable impression upon her mind, and dispelled most of the doubts that had hitherto obstructed her religious convictions. Those who have been trained up from infancy in the habitual performance of religious duty, and whose minds by a special grace of God not often valued as it ought, have been developed and directed by the teaching of His Church, can never adequately conceive the torture and the terror of the sincere inquirer after truth in such a trying and critical position—a position in which the interests of eternity and very often the interests of earth, are depending upon the conclusiveness of an argument, or the firmness of a resolution. When the soul, urged on by the power of truth, or attracted by the influence of grace, is held back by the force of past opinions, to which it is often publicly committed; of old habits which it has long indulged, of inveterate prejudices which it has imbibed in childhood, and which have fettered it through life; and when the whole moral and intellectual nature must be subjected to an entire and terrible revolution. The agony of the inward process, terrible as it is, becomes often aggravated by difficulties of a more worldly character, when the dictates of conscience can be obeyed only at the risk of giving offence to valued friends, of separating from cherished connections, of being subjected to obloquy, and censure, and ridicule, and imputation of the most unworthy motives, and from those perhaps whose good opinion it had always been an object of the most anxious ambition to merit and secure. This is an ordeal for which every sincere inquirer must be more or less prepared. They are the pangs of the

second birth, by which he is to be made a child of God; and the purifying process by which he is to be prepared for his spiritual regeneration. In it, as in a searching fire, the wood, hay, or stubble, is to be purged away. But however painful the ordeal, or steep and rugged, and strewed with tribulations, the narrow path that leads the traveller heavenward, it is the way to immortality, and the sufferings endured are not to be compared to the unending weight of glory to which it will conduct him hereafter.

While this change was taking place in the religious opinions of the subject of our notice, an important alteration was made in her temporal condition. She had been from the period of her parents' death, an inmate in the house of the kind friends who had undertaken the responsibility of her and her sister's education. There she became acquainted with an old gentleman and his wife who were frequent visitors. These were but lately returned from abroad, and had no children. The kindness of heart, and cheerfulness of disposition that distinguished Miss McAuley, soon attracted their attention, and gained their esteem and love. Not satisfied with enjoying her society occasionally, they wished to have her always with them, and proposed to her to take up her residence altogether in their house, and become their adopted daughter. The advantages of the proposal to one in her position, were too manifest to be rejected, and in a short time she removed entirely to their residence, which was beautifully situated in a small village a few miles to the north of Dublin. Neither of the parties had any reason to regret the consequences of this arrangement. They were to her, all that the fondest parents could be; and her grateful and devoted attachment led them to forget that she was but their adopted child. But neither the advantages of her new position, nor the comforts she enjoyed, nor the attentions which she received from her kind friends, could relieve the anxiety or quiet the troubles of her mind on the great subject of religion. There was a void in her heart that no earthly happiness could fill; and a want that nothing she had yet enjoyed could satisfy. She resolved on becoming a Catholic, let the consequences to her temporal interests be what they might. Her adopted parents had used no undue influence, and were probably ignorant of her determination, but the consequences were too important to her own eternal interests, and whatever their

conduct in her regard might be, she resolved on taking without delay the necessary steps to become in reality, as she was already in desire, a practical Catholic. From a feeling which will be easily understood, she had a difficulty in disclosing to them her partiality for that religion. Yet without making this disclosure, it was by no means easy for her to accomplish the object she had at heart, for her residence was some miles from the city, and her kind friends would scarcely permit her to be absent for an hour. But anything was preferable to the agony of suspense. One day she alleged some reason for going into town alone, and leaving the carriage at the door of a milliner's shop where she had purchased some trifling articles, and where she ordered it to wait, she went to the Catholic chapel which was in the immediate neighbourhood. Breathless with haste, and trembling with the excitement of her feelings, she applied at the residence of the clergyman, and was introduced into the presence of the late Dr. Betagh. No one could have been better suited to the occasion. When the agitation of her feelings permitted her to make known the object of her visit, and the peculiar circumstances in which she was placed, he gave her the advice she needed, removed the remaining objections she entertained, and desired her to come on the earliest convenient day to see him again. Many were the difficulties she encountered in accomplishing her purpose—difficulties which she could have easily avoided as the issue proved, by openly and promptly avowing her resolution. This however she wished to put off to the last moment, and it was not until she had made her first communion that her friends were made aware of the step which she had taken. They would of course have preferred her remaining of the same religious persuasion as themselves; but as her conscience and her convictions led her otherwise, they allowed her the same liberty, as they would have wished, in similar circumstances, for themselves. Thenceforth she continued to go to mass, and they to church, without any diminution of their mutual esteem and affection.

Thus at liberty, she soon proved by her piety and regularity, how deeply she appreciated the religious opinions she had embraced. She was diligent in the observances of religion, and indefatigable in her exertions to relieve the wants and necessities of the poor. She had little indeed of her own to give, beyond a kind word of advice,

or an affectionate expression of sympathy; but she was often the ready and cheerful instrument of distributing her benefactor's bounty. Her adopted parents were good and charitable people, and she was usually the channel through which their charity was distributed. But her care was not limited to mere material wants. She took pity also on the spiritual ignorance of those she relieved; and remembering her father's usefulness, she was anxious to prove herself in all things worthy of his virtues. She collected the poor children of the neighbourhood in the lodge which was placed at her disposal, and devoted to their instruction whatever leisure time she could spare. She soon drew around her those who hoped to derive relief and consolation from her advice. Every one who had distress to be relieved, or affliction to be mitigated, or troubles to be encountered, came, and to the best of her judgment she told them what to do. Her zeal made her a kind of missionary in her district. In these works of usefulness and charity she continued for several years; during which time she was rendering herself each day more and more dear to her adopted parents. In the course of time, the increasing infirmities of age began to undermine the constitutions of the latter, and they departed this life within a short interval of one another. Miss McAuley had the inexpressible consolation to see them both follow her example, and become Catholics on their dying bed. For this she had prayed with many sighs and tears, and when her prayers seemed hopeless, they were, by a special favour from above, crowned with complete success. Their sense of her worth and affection, and of her long and meritorious services, was proved after their deaths, for it was found that they left her sole heiress of all their property, which was considerable.

If a young lady with a large fortune at her disposal, remains unmarried, it will seldom be for want of persons to solicit the honour of her hand. Miss McAuley was soon honoured with the attentions of more than one aspiring individual. These proposals and addresses she at once rejected; and declared to all whom it might concern that her firm determination was to lead a single life, and disclaim for ever any intention of marriage. Her real objects were known only to the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, a Catholic clergyman in Dublin, who possessed her confidence, and to whom she had communicated her real in-

tentions. These intentions were to devote her whole means to the relief of the needy and the destitute, and to establish some permanent institution for the mitigation of their sufferings. This project she had revolved in her mind, even when there seemed no human probability of its being ever carried into effect; and now when God gave her the means of doing so, she resolved on commencing the good work without delay. The Rev. Mr. Armstrong remarked that it had been formerly too much the custom for Catholics to place their charitable and religious institutions in some obscure street, or narrow lane, that was almost inaccessible; that it would be desirable to make a change in this respect, and place them so that all might see and be edified, that thus they might not be less advantageously circumstanced as regarded the publicity of their benevolent institutions, than their Protestant fellow-countrymen. In compliance with these suggestions, it was resolved to take, not a house already built, which there would perhaps have been some difficulty in accommodating to these purposes, but a plot of ground, and erect thereon an edifice that would be not only holy in its use, but consecrated to God and to his service from its very foundations. An eligible situation presented itself in Lower Baggot Street, and was purchased. A plan and estimate of a building to answer the proposed objects was procured, and the work was commenced immediately.

Whilst the new building was in progress, and being prepared for the purposes to which it was to be applied, Miss McAuley was employed in preparing herself to accomplish them, with every probability of success. One of the principal objects she contemplated, was the education of the poor, and while the works were going on, she resolved on becoming acquainted with the system of instruction that was adopted in the best regulated schools. The Kildarestreet system was then in active operation, and though its other faults were many and considerable, there can be little doubt, that the system of literary instruction employed, was a considerable improvement on that which had been pursued before its time. Miss McAuley made several visits to the principal school in Dublin, in order to acquire a practical knowledge of its details, that she might subsequently be able to make them available and introduce them into her own.

When the building in Baggot-street was prepared for her reception, she took up her abode in it. She gave accommodation also to a few poor but respectable young women, to whom it was a temporary advantage until suitable situations could be procured them. Some ladies, who had kindly volunteered to help her in the schools, seeing the good she did, and imbibing a portion of her zeal, expressed a willingness, with the consent of their friends, to devote themselves entirely to the objects she had in view. After a short experience of its working, it was resolved to draw down a blessing on the entire establishment by placing it under the divine protection. Miss McAuley had a particular devotion to the festival of our Blessed Lady of Mercy. The 24th of September, on which it is celebrated, was approaching, and she wrote to the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, for permission to have the small chapel, which she took care to have ready for the occasion, solemnly blessed, and a somewhat religious character imparted to the duties in which she and her associates were engaged. This prelate, who had been from a very early period her sincere friend, and who has proved himself ever ready to sanction any good work by which the glory of God or the salvation of souls is to be promoted, consented without hesitation. On the appointed morning her little chapel was blessed, and her undertaking placed under the protection of our Blessed Lady of Mercy.

Every generous undertaking will experience more or less of opposition. On the very morning on which her little chapel was blessed, she heard the first murmurs of disapproval. The object and constitution of the Institution were canvassed in no indulgent spirit, and censured in no very complimentary language. The words in which the censure was expressed, were whispered loud enough to reach her ears. Depressed very much by the disapprobation which her institution seemed to receive, and fearing in her humility lest it might be an indication from God that her intentions, however well-meant, were not approved by Him, she sought advice from her ecclesiastical superiors, to guide her in the difficulty she encountered. Her kind friend, the Archbishop, was the person to whom religion bade her have recourse, and whose authority was to be in her regard even as the authority of God. If he approved her undertaking, it mattered little what others should say or

do. If he objected, it would be a sign that her views were not inspired by God's Spirit, and that they were consequently to be abandoned. Accordingly she sought an interview, and laid before him the nature and the objects of her benevolent foundation, and the method by which these objects were to be accomplished. She neither wished for fame, nor sought distinction; nor did she wish to interfere with the usefulness of any others that might be labouring in the same field. She offered to resign into his hands all right to the house she had erected, and give him full permission to employ it for whatever religious purpose he pleased. For herself personally she asked but for the poorest apartment in it, and the merit of labouring in any capacity, however humble, in carrying out his benevolent intentions. No one could have better appreciated the generosity of such an offer than he to whom it was made. From the day of her conversion, he had been the witness of her zeal and piety. He knew her worth, and had no difficulty in perceiving that her conduct, throughout, had been influenced by the purest and the most devoted charity. Her proposal of committing the establishment to the care of one of the religious institutions in Dublin, he answered by a most decided negative. He was convinced that the spirit to which it owed its existence, would best preside over its subsequent exertions, and ensure its ultimate success. Every good work, he said, was like the divine Author of our religion, a sign to be contradicted; and for trials of some sort or other, she ought always to be prepared. In accordance with these sentiments, he gave his most earnest encouragement to the undertaking, and took the preliminary steps to place it on a footing of efficient and permanent stability. He gave the inmates permission to assume a distinctive religious dress, and visit the sick, both in private houses and in public hospitals. As an instance of the good sense with which Miss McAuley made her knowledge of the world subservient to the interests of religion, we may allude to the manner in which she established a kind of right for herself and her associates to visit the public hospitals of the city, as since that period they have been in the constant habit of doing. One of the physicians attached to Sir Patrick Dunn's hospital, was her intimate friend, and profiting by this circumstance, she sought permission to see the sick wards and the treatment of the patients, along with some of her female

friends. No objection was made; and while they were passing through the apartments, she as it were incidentally mentioned that she should be very anxious to visit the patients occasionally with her young friends, to give the sick and dying whatever consolation they might be able to communicate, and hoped no objection would be made to a repetition of their visits. The reply was most satisfactory, and thenceforward they were constant and regular visitors. Not being personally acquainted with the managers of the other hospitals, she went in her own carriage, and requested as a favour to be admitted to see the internal arrangement and accommodations. What might have been refused her if she had gone on foot, was immediately granted when she presented herself in a fashionable equipage. When she had succeeded in establishing a kind of right, by the frequency of her visits, she dispensed with the equipage, and never afterwards made use of it. It was soon after sold, the servants were dismissed, and the saving thereby effected in her domestic economy, was applied to the relief of the poor, the suffering, and the afflicted.

The establishment in Baggot-street was now making itself extensively useful. The ladies who had the charge of it, not only attended the sick, but had a large school for the education of poor girls, an orphanage, and a place of refuge for poor destitute females. But notwithstanding its varied and comprehensive usefulness, it was yet in a somewhat anomalous position. A Catholic visitor, however he might value its services, and be edified by the piety of its members, would have missed the peculiar religious character that should ever pervade such communities, and the religious organization that alone could give stability and efficiency to their operations. It was at best but the creation of individual charity, presided over by private zeal, and dependant for its continuance on the will of her to whom it owed its existence. It was therefore highly desirable that the Church should take it formally under its protection, invest it with a more sacred character, and provide for its future permanence. No one could be more sensible of these defects than Miss McAuley herself, and no one more ardently desired to have them remedied. She applied repeatedly to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, to give to her and her associates whatever religious form and character he deemed

advisable; and it soon became absolutely necessary that something should be done towards this end. Many well disposed Catholics began to take offence at the unusual form which the establishment had assumed. It was neither a convent nor a private dwelling-house; it was neither a religious community, nor yet a public institution. Remonstrances were made to the foundress, by those who were friends, as well as by those who were by no means friendly; sometimes in language of kind and well-meant expostulation, and not unfrequently in terms of unqualified disapproval. She often received, by post, letters written in the most opprobrious style and addressed in the most insulting manner. Her position was rendered so unpleasant, that it was fully time to do something to rescue her from the pain of such repeated and unmerited annoyance. For her own part, she could have borne it all in patience, and found strength and consolation in prayer, like Him who was Himself insulted and reviled, and who said to His followers, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and speak evil against you, falsely, for my name: rejoice and be glad, for your reward is exceedingly great in heaven." But she would not that those who were united with her in the sacred work of charity, should also suffer; nor that the institution which she had laboured so long and anxiously, and at such expense, to perfect, should be injured in the public estimation, and be thereby obstructed in its career of usefulness. But God, who permitted her to be thus tried for a season, had chosen her for His own wise ends, and wished that her virtue should be thus made perfect. When the fitting time arrived, He took care that those trials should cease, and that the great object for which she had longed and prayed, should be brought at length to a successful termination. One day, when the horizon of her hopes seemed more than usually clouded, and her mind depressed by the difficulties that encompassed her, the archbishop sought an interview, and announced to her his intention of complying with her wishes, respecting the future and permanent condition of the establishment. It was deemed advisable to have the new institute totally unconnected with any other, to have it governed by its own rules, and designated by its own distinctive appellation. What more appropriate designation could be selected, to express at once its character and

purpose ; than that which it was then determined to give it, THE INSTITUTE OF OUR BLESSED LADY OF MERCY?

An order of mercy had already existed in the Church, founded by St. Peter Nolasco in the 13th century. Like that which in after times was to receive the same name, this order was called into existence by that spirit of charity and compassion, which urged holy men to relieve the necessities and mitigate the sufferings of their afflicted fellow-creatures. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Christians who lived along the northern shores of the Mediterranean were much exposed to the predatory attacks of the Moors. These, from their superior skill in nautical affairs, and the number and size of their ships, were able to bid defiance to any force that the Christian states of Europe could bring against them. Their fleets rode triumphant on the waters from Jaffa to Gibraltar, and on more than one occasion carried terror and dismay along the coasts of Spain and Italy. Sometimes they contented themselves with cruising outside the harbours, lying in wait for such merchant vessels as were coming out or going in. Not unfrequently they made sudden descents upon the coasts, and, after plundering the houses, carried away into slavery the wretched inhabitants that they seized. The condition of these Christian slaves, in the homes of their barbarian masters, was for the most part truly deplorable. Servitude, even in its most favourable aspect, is a hard and hapless lot ; but when religious oppression and enmity are infused into the bitter cup of social degradation, the draught must be one of veriest wormwood. The man that had been inured to labour and hardship from his childhood, may have struggled firmly and devotedly with his fate ; but, alas ! imagination may picture, but the pen refuses to record, the hard and horrible doom that awaited the weaker sex in the household of the infidel masters to whom they were assigned. To avert in some measure these evils, St. Peter Nolasco and his associates united themselves in a religious institute. Among their warmest friends they had the honour of numbering a Spanish king, the noble-hearted James of Arragon. To his munificence they were indebted for a fine convent at Barcelona. The name of this meritorious institute, which, in consequence of the altered condition of Europe, had deviated very much from its first form, was adopted by Miss McAuley, with the approbation of the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, for her own.

The rules and constitutions, however, by which it was to be governed, were derived from a different quarter.

They adopted measures without delay for introducing the observances of a religious life among the new aspirants after perfection. The necessary permission being obtained, Miss McAuley and two companions entered the Presentation Convent of George's Hill, in Dublin, to learn the duties and practices of religion, and when their noviciate was performed, to return to Baggot Street, and give to the remaining members the benefit of the instructions they had received. In that convent they received the religious dress in the month of December, 1829; and at the expiration of one year they made their religious profession. To the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they added a fourth of devoting themselves during the period of their lives to the service of the sick and the poor. In the meantime they had provided for the continued efficiency of the house in Baggot Street, and taken precautions against any interruptions of its usefulness during their temporary absence.

While Mrs. McAuley (for thus we must henceforward designate her) was spending her noviciate at George's Hill, a distinguished member of the Irish Church, since raised to the episcopacy, was engaged in examining the rules and constitutions of several religious communities, with a view to compile a suitable code for the new Institute of Mercy. The Rule of St. Augustine was adopted as the basis, but several clauses were introduced, and changes made, which the altered circumstances of the times and the peculiar objects of the new institute required. These, after being carefully revised and examined by the competent authorities, were submitted to the archbishop, and proposed for the observance of the convent. The three religious, including Mrs. McAuley, that were professed in George's Hill, returned home in December, 1830, immediately after their profession. In the January of the following year the religious dress was given to the six sisters that had been conducting the establishment in her absence. In January, 1832, these also were admitted to their profession, in the first ceremony of that description that took place within the walls of the new convent.

The good effected by the new order, and the services it was actually rendering to the ignorant, the destitute, and the sick in Dublin, began to attract the attention of the

public, not only in that city but elsewhere. Applications began to be made from other localities, praying for an extension of its services to them. In the year 1835, a Convent of Mercy was established at Tullamore. In 1836 one was founded at Charleville, in the county of Cork; one in 1837 at Carlow, and one in the city of Cork in the same year. Twenty years have not yet passed since the house of Baggot Street was established as a religious institute, and at this moment its filiations have spread themselves over the united kingdom, and established large and flourishing communities even on the continent of America.

Having thus made our reader somewhat acquainted with the circumstances that led to the establishment of the House of Mercy in Baggot Street, it is time that we fulfil our promise of showing him the practical working of the institute, and describing to him, as far as we are able, the varied occupations and mode of life of those who have devoted their lives, and consecrated their faculties and their means, to the great object of relieving and instructing the poor.

Having passed the poplar trees already mentioned, and gained admittance into a spacious hall, the first object that strikes him on his entrance is a number of young women assembled in a room at one side. These are either servants unemployed, who have lost their situations through the ordinary changes of society and the vicissitudes of life, or young women who are desirous of gaining a livelihood in that capacity through the influence and kind interference of the ladies of the establishment. Until they prove successful, they present themselves at a stated hour, and for a considerable time each day, to receive instruction in their moral and religious duties. This is an object of very great importance. Many of these poor girls have been sent into service at an early period of their lives, under the stern pressure of necessity; some even, sad to say, without having received the elementary religious education which the Church desires to be given to all her children—several, perhaps, for such things have occurred, without having ever received the sacraments. Even those who have been so fortunate as to receive the ordinary religious instruction in early life, have much need to renew again their first impressions. If with the most gifted and the most favoured it is advisable to do so, how much more is this the

case with those who have been exposed to the deteriorating action of the world in its roughest form—who have been often forced to forget or to neglect their most sacred duties in the frequently desperate struggle for subsistence, or been compelled to do violence to their holiest convictions, at the bidding of masters and mistresses of religious opinions different from their own? No period and no opportunity are to be found more favourable for correcting, as far as possible, these manifold evils, than whilst they are out of employment; and hence they are most anxiously made use of by the good ladies of the community, one of whom is specially appointed for this purpose. She takes care to instruct them when ignorant, to stimulate them when negligent, and to require their punctual attendance at the necessary religious duties. She is also commissioned to introduce them to such persons as may be seeking for servants, and who are afforded in the house the necessary opportunities of speaking to those they may wish to employ, and of examining their respective papers and testimonials. The vast scale and amazing extent to which this work of charity is carried on, may be inferred from the fact, that the number of servants, who have been thus prepared and provided for has amounted to as many as five hundred annually.

But there is a class of poor servants that requires even more than this kind interference in their behalf. The majority of those who are employed in that capacity have some friend or relative to whom they can apply for aid, and from whom they may receive a shelter during the period that elapses between the losing of one situation and the obtaining of another. And it is an interesting and a honourable trait of the Irish character, that even the poorest is willing to give the shelter of his garret or his hovel, and, if necessary, even the scanty pittance of his board, to a relative in need. Some servants, too, there are who have been so thoughtful and prudent as to make a little saving against such contingencies. But, making all necessary allowance for these, there are, and must be, many who have no reserve against the day of want, who have no relative to afford a momentary refuge against misery and starvation, and who, if no merciful hand be stretched out in time to save them, must be abandoned to a fate too melancholy to contemplate. For such as these the House of Mercy has a home, where they are protected from desti-

tution, and from a fate far more pitiable than destitution ; where they are sure of a refuge in the hour of their temporary distress ; where they are received with more than a mother's welcome when circumstances render it necessary that they should leave their situations for a time, and before they obtain another. The visitor will be shown in a large and spacious wing of the building, specially set apart for that purpose, the several rooms prepared for their reception—the refectory, where they receive their meals of wholesome and substantial food—the lavatory, where they are employed during the day in the useful occupations of washing and preparing linen—the drying room, in which the latter is made ready for use—and the dormitory, spacious and well-ventilated, in which, after their daily labours are done, fifty poor girls are accommodated with clean and comfortable beds, and in which they can retire to rest at night secure from the dangers, and fortunately exempted from the miseries, that are the bitter portion of others.

But the good effected by the institution is not limited to that which has been already described : for the heart of the benevolent visitor will thrill with a vivid feeling of satisfaction, on being introduced by his conductor into the large room extending the entire length of the building, and in which three hundred poor children receive, from the ladies of the establishment, the priceless advantage of a good literary and religious education. The blessings of religious education to the poor, he will be already aware of : it will be unnecessary to impress them upon his mind. For what benevolent mind will fail to acknowledge its advantages to the poor, the means which it affords them of improving their condition in the world, the higher and purer tone of feeling and opinion which it so powerfully tends to develope, the bright gleams of holier light which it sheds on the dark and troubled stream of their after lives, and the greater security it gives of their realizing the ends of their existence here, and attaining to a brilliant destiny hereafter ? If the preparation of even one immortal spirit be a work of such high merit and surpassing excellence as religion assures us it is, how great must be the merit and usefulness of those who are the means of instructing so many unto justice ?

It may be supposed, and will be readily admitted, that the many and various works of mercy already mentioned, are of themselves enough to occupy the time and attention

of the religious, and would be in themselves alone enough to command the respect and admiration of the public. But will it be believed that they are only a part, and the least laborious and repulsive part, of the good which the ladies of the establishment are in the daily practice of performing? and that they are not content with the many abundant means of usefulness to their fellow-creatures which are afforded them in their own institution, but that they are bound each day to visit the sick and poor in their own houses, and give them such charitable relief as they may stand in need of for their bodily wants; and what is yet more precious, and yet more rarely administered, the kind sympathy and merciful consolation which the poor sufferer, as he tosses to and fro in the agony of his pain, is so seldom fortunate enough to find? However acute his torture, or loathsome his disease, however squalid his hovel, or miserable his bed, the Sister of Mercy is bound to seek him, and to speak to him, and to pray with him and for him, that with his sufferings such issue may be made, as that he bear them patiently to the end, and that through many tribulations he may enter into his rest. It matters not whether the summer noon-day sun pours down his flood of light and heat, making the very pavement on which she treads almost burning to her feet; or whether the wild storms of winter envelope her with their snowy mantle, and piercing icy chill—through snow and rain, as well as in the hottest summer heat, she must go on her blessed mission of mercy to penetrate the narrow and filthy lane, to climb the dark and broken stair, and often in the corner of some lone and neglected and obscure garret, to speak her kind word of consolation to the sorrow-stricken child of want, on his passage to eternity. If there be, as religion says there are, ministering angels, hovering round the bed of the departing Christian, whether that bed be a wretched pallet of straw or a bed of down, must they not record with satisfaction that word of consolation, and the prayer with which it is accompanied, and bear them exultingly to their Master's throne as the pledge of coming glory to the dying sufferer in whose behalf they are uttered?

There is often danger of infection and contagion to themselves in the discharge of this meritorious duty. In the feculence of the lanes and fetid atmosphere of the houses which they are daily called upon to visit, the lurking fever oft lies in wait for its victim; but the motive

which urges her to the fulfilment of her benevolent mission is one for which even the contagion of pestilence has no terrors, and which no dire disease that ever preyed upon the wasted form of humanity is capable of diverting or frightening for an instant, from the bedside of him who is afflicted. Nay, even when wife and child have fled appalled from the wretched pallet on which the husband or the parent lay, and in the selfishness of terror have left the stricken victim of pestilence to die in solitude and alone, the Sister of Mercy has been found to come, and in the sustaining power of her self-sacrificing love, to watch over his last moments and soothe the sufferings of his agony. It is not many years ago since this zeal was fearfully tried, and many of those whose eyes will look on this page will remember the terror and alarm of the year 1832. It was the year of the cholera. For months before, its gradual approach had been regularly and diligently announced in the public journals. Every stage of its progress, from its birth in the reeking swamps of Java, had been observed and noted; and as it came nearer and nearer, travelling each day almost with the regularity and stated measure of a human traveller, it filled every breast with dismay, as the time approached when its actual presence might be expected. It will be remembered also, how, after weeks of direst apprehension, it did come at length, and take up its abode for months amongst us, carrying terror and dismay into the mansions of the wealthy as well as the hovels of the poor. It was an awful and impressive time. The dearest friends passed each other almost without saluting in the streets, fearing lest the seeds of death might be communicated by even the hand of friendship. The wholesomest food was refused by even hungry lips, lest it might prove the occasion of disease. The dearest members of each household were wont to gather trembling round their domestic hearth in the evening, fearing lest the agonizing shriek of the cholera might be heard in the house during the night, and before morning some fondly cherished member of the family circle be laid out upon his funeral bier. Those whom business or necessity led out into the open streets, looked with trembling anxiety around them, lest the hand chairs, on which the sick were borne to the hospital, should come upon them unawares; and when they, as often was the case, did present themselves at the corner of some narrow lane unexpectedly, shrunk hastily and

abruptly to the other side, as if a poisonous reptile had come suddenly upon their path. But the hospitals, where the pestilence had fixed as it were its empire—where the cry of the sucking infant was wildly mingled with the moans of the expiring mother—where the stout, strong man made the very iron bedstead upon which he lay tremble, as his writhing frame quivered in the fearful paroxysms of his malady—where pestilence in its most terrific form pointed to the purplish features, clay-cold limbs, and whispering accents of its crowded victims, and laughed to scorn the subtlest skill of the physician,—there, in the very sanctuary of disease, what desperate devotedness could have ventured, or what self-sacrificing zeal consented to enter? Yes, even there the Sister of Mercy was generous enough to go; and not only to enter, but for months together to take up her abode entirely there, and true to the example of Him who laid down His life for others, was found to give herself a willing victim upon the altar of charity. Oh! it must have been a touching and a noble sight, worthy of the holiest times of the ancient martyrs, when in the spring of 1832, a few days after the cholera broke out in Dublin, the venerable bishop of the city presented himself to the community in Baggot Street, and solicited in behalf of the afflicted poor the benefit of their invaluable services. He needed no powers of persuasion to effect his purpose. One and all, they offered to go wherever their services were wanted; and throwing themselves on their knees before him, received his parting advice and blessing. They left their house that very day, and took up their abode entirely in the public hospitals. There they continued during the prevalence of the calamity, attending the sick, performing towards them those kind offices which they required, enabling them by their affectionate sympathy to bear their sufferings with patience, and in the agony of their last moments inspiring them with sentiments of religious resignation. So great was their devotedness, that one of the good ladies, from the assiduity with which she prayed with the sick and dying, contracted an infirmity in her knees, under which she laboured for many months, and from which she was healed with difficulty. A zeal so intense, and a charity so devoted, was worthy of its reward even in this life; a kind Providence seemed specially to watch over them. While hundreds were dying around them, they seemed to bear as it were a charmed

life. Not one of them all fell a victim to the malady. Society and religion were to enjoy for some years longer the benefit of their services. Yet what nobler fate could have befallen any of the pious sisterhood; or what more glorious crown could await her, than that which would have been her blessed recompense had she fallen upon the field of her labours, and died the martyr of her charity?

The visitor may wish to know from whence this intense, absorbing, and comprehensive benevolence proceeds, and how the flame of such a charity is nourished and sustained. If he be a Catholic, he will scarcely ask the question; or if he does, he will be at no loss to supply the answer. If he be a stranger to the nature and objects of a religious life, and unacquainted with the devotional exercises, by which the spirit of that state is preserved even to the hour of death in the freshness of its original fervour, he will be able to form some idea of them on being conducted into the small chapel appropriated to the religious exercises of the community. It forms part of the body of the building, and communicates with the apartments by several doors. Yet he will perceive on entering, that it is very far from being destined to any domestic purpose. The floor is neatly carpeted. The walls on each side are occupied by stalls of carved wood, similar to those that he may see in the paintings of old conventual churches, and which by a simple and intelligible contrivance, may be adapted to the double purpose of sitting or of praying. The wall at the far end, is concealed from view by an altar and its customary decorations, which fill the entire space from the ceiling to the floor. If his eyes be drawn from the contemplation of the rich ornament and elegant design of the tabernacle that adorns the centre, it will be to rest with feelings of mingled curiosity and wonder upon the silver lamp, that even in the glare of the noon-day sun, he will perceive suspended from the ceiling, and diffusing its light around. Night and day that light is never extinguished. It is the well known Catholic indication of the incarnate Godhead, that under the sacramental veils, is ever residing and dwelling corporally upon that altar. There He has taken up his abode among men, not indeed in that visible human form, which during the period of his mortal life he exhibited to the eyes of his friends and disciples, which for thirty years dwelt beneath the humble roof of Nazareth, and which during the years of His public ministry, went

about every where doing good, but in that other mystic but not less real form, which by a miracle of love ineffable He has contrived for being always amongst us. On that altar the offering of Calvary is each day renewed in the Eucharistic sacrifice. At the foot of that altar may be often seen the religious of the community presenting themselves, to be united with him in the sacred and honoured intimacy of the Eucharistic communion. There at an early hour in the morning, ere yet the tired votaries of pleasure have recovered the effects of their yesterday's amusement, or the busy children of the world are awake for their ordinary duties, they may be seen coming to give to Him in their morning orisons, the first fruit of their thoughts and affections. There too they may be seen frequently at other times presenting themselves, to renew in His divine presence the fervour of their first resolutions. When they are called to the homes of the poor, or the bed of the sick, or the fireside of the sorrowful and afflicted, on whom tribulation have rushed like a tempest, terrible and heartrending in its consequences, they come there too, to beg of Him whose eye is ever mercifully and benignly beaming on them, that their errand may be one of usefulness, and that His hand may guide them on their path and bring them back with safety. Then too on their return they present themselves again, to repeat the offering of their homage, and renew the promise of their fidelity. Is it strange that hearts so pure, so single-minded, so devoted, so unceasingly sustained and nourished with sustenance from above, should go on in their way rejoicing, and continue for years together with undiminished zeal and undecaying fervour, their glorious and enduring work of mercy?

Mrs. McAuley had the satisfaction of seeing her institute extended during her lifetime to other countries, and of knowing that it was formally and canonically sanctioned by the holy See, in a rescript bearing date the 5th of July 1841. This took place a very short time before her death. The cares and troubles attending the foundation of her several establishments, the many journeys to which she was thereby subjected, and the anxiety of providing all things necessary for the several communities, would have been sufficient to break down a constitution even stronger than her's; on her return from Birmingham, which was the last filiation in which she was engaged, it was seen by her in-

creased debility and exhaustion, that the term of her usefulness was near at hand. After struggling with her infirmities for some time, she was at length obliged to confine herself to her room. She never left it again alive. She was desirous to continue still to encourage her spiritual daughters by example, to the punctual fulfilment of their meritorious duties, but her divine Master, by depriving her of the necessary bodily strength, showed that such was not His will. Yet though unable to take a part in their labours, her patience under suffering, and her resignation to God's will, were an example and an instruction. It was natural that she should feel much solicitude for the future welfare of the order that had come into existence under her maternal care, and expressed many an anxious thought for its future prosperity; but she also felt that she was but an instrument in the hands of God, and that if He called her away before it was nurtured into strength, He would Himself preside over its after destinies, and conduct it to a successful termination. She would have wished to witness its course of usefulness, and devote herself with even more than her wonted zeal to the promotion of its objects, and however ardent her desire to be dissolved and to be with God, she was satisfied and anxious, if it were so ordered, to labour for years to come. But the measure of her good works was already full. She had worked well and diligently, and devotedly in the vineyard, and it was time that she should receive the rich reward of her services and fidelity. Though her debility in the last stage of her illness was very great, she does not seem to have suffered much bodily pain; and to the sisters who were in attendance she would often say, "Oh! if this be death, it is very easy indeed." She preserved her faculties unimpaired to the last, and a very short time before her death, was able to transact some business of considerable importance. It was the last act of her mortal life. Some time before, she had received the last rites of the Church, with every mark of the most profound reverence, and having commended herself to God, and taken leave of the afflicted sisterhood, she calmly exchanged this world for a better.

Enclosed within the buildings of the convent is a small cemetery. A few shrubs and evergreens have been planted here and there; and on a fresh morning in the spring or summer, a few flowers set at regular distances, fill the surrounding air with their sweet fragrance. A large

cross is erected in the centre, and some graves are seen in its immediate vicinity. Beneath that cross lie the mortal remains of the holy woman whose virtues and good works we have endeavoured though imperfectly to describe, and in those graves the remains of some who took part in her early labours. Their noblest epitaph is the orphan's prayer. Their most enduring monument, the ORDER OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY.

ART. II.—*A Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, &c.*
By WILLIAM STROUDE, M. D. London, Hamilton and Adams,
33, Paternoster Row, 1847.

THE thoughtful work which we have placed at the head of the present article, contains so great a variety of matter, and that of great interest, that it is as well to intimate at once that we purpose to confine our remarks upon it to the physical subject specified in the title page. Our intention is to treat, in the first place, of the *Blood*, physiologically, and to collect the various discoveries and theories to which modern science has given rise; while we are thus engaged, we shall have little occasion to refer to Dr. Stroude's work, but the physiological consideration of the blood will not, in fact, be an unfit introduction to our observations on the explanation given by Dr. Stroude of the physical cause of the death of our blessed Lord. At the same time, our preliminary remarks will be more particularly scientific, and be therefore, of necessity, expressed in technical language, which may render them less intelligible to those of our readers who have in no sense made a study of physiology. The physical cause of our Lord's death is a subject which will interest all, and we have treated it with less technicality: it is a subject, too, adapted to the season of Lent and Passion-tide, and it will not be other than a recommendation to the view taken by our author, if it proves, that the physical cause which instrumentally effected the consummation of man's redemp-

tion was the "natural effect" of the "agony" endured by our Saviour for our sake.

We begin, then, with the *Physiology of the Blood*.

It is, of course, well known that if fresh blood be stirred with a piece of stick, (1.) the fibrine which exists in it in a free state will adhere to the stick in a colourless stringy mass, and may thus be separated; that the fluid, if filtered,* will be divided into (2.) the red corpuscles of the blood, and a transparent fluid, consisting of (3.) water, holding in solution the albumen and the various inorganic substances which exist in the blood; and that from this solution, if treated with an acid, (4.) the albumen will be precipitated. Again, if fresh drawn blood be set by itself in a narrow vessel, it will spontaneously separate into a fluid and a firm mass; the former consisting of the watery solution above mentioned, and called the *serum*, the latter of the fibrine and the red corpuscles, and called the *crassamentum* or clot. Once more, in acute inflammation, as in pericarditis or pleuritis, there is effused from the congested blood vessels of the serous membrane that portion of the blood which is capable of escaping through the coats of the blood vessels, viz., the liquor sanguinis or the fluid part, consisting of the water, the albumen, and the fibrine, while the red corpuscles are retained. Here, then, are a variety of topics connected with the blood, which have naturally engaged the attention of physiologists, and on which recent discoveries have thrown much light. We purpose to treat of these in the following order: 1. The blood in its normal state, both as regards its chemical and physiological parts, and as regards the change which it undergoes, from the bright scarlet colour of the arterial to the dark and almost black colour of the venous blood. 2. We shall take notice of those rare cases in which there has occurred an effusion of the red corpuscles of the blood; and 3. The phenomena of coagulation. And we here make a general acknowledgment of our obligations to Mr. Paget, whose Reports supply most of our materials, and whose words we shall incorporate in

* The red corpuscles of the *frog's* blood will not escape through the pores of fine filtering paper.

what we have to say, when our subject and our readers may gain by our so doing.

1. *The Composition of the Blood.* As our readers, though acquainted with the analysis of the blood by M. Lecanu, may not have it at hand for reference, we will subjoin it, in order that we may have before our eyes the details which may call for observation. M. Lecanu gives the result of two analyses, and they are as follows :

| | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| Water, | 780.145 | 785.590 |
| Fibrin, | 2.100 | 3.565 |
| Albumen, | 65.090 | 69.415 |
| Red particles, | 133.000 | 119.626 |
| Fatty crystallizable matter, | 2.430 | 4.300 |
| Oily matter, | 1.310 | 2.270 |
| Extractive soluble in Water and Alcohol, | 1.790 | 1.920 |
| Albumen combined with Soda, | 1.265 | 2.010 |
| Chloride of Sodium, | | |
| — Potassium, | | |
| Carbonates of Potash and Soda, | 8.370 | 7.304 |
| Phosphates of ditto | | |
| Sulphates of ditto | | |
| Carbonates of Lime and Magnesia, | | |
| Phosphates of Lime, Magnesia and Iron, | 2.100 | 1.414 |
| Peroxide of Iron, | | |
| Loss, | 2.400 | 2.586 |
| | <hr/> 10.000 | <hr/> 10.000 |

It is obvious that as the materials from which the various tissues of the body are nourished, are conveyed to them by the blood, we ought to find all these materials in the blood. From an examination of the above analyses this will be found true, and the extremely small quantity in which those substances exist in the system which do not occur in the analyses, will account for their omission. Of the fifty-four or fifty-five simple substances, twenty have been found in the organic world : of these, iodine and bromine occur only in marine animals and plants ; aluminium in plants alone, and that, too, rarely : the other simple substances not yet mentioned are, fluorine, manganese, silicium, copper, and lead. The first exists in the ivory and enamel of the teeth ; the second and third in the hair ; and it is quite recently that the existence of the two last in the human body has been established. They are not found, according to Signor Cattanei di Momo, in the

bodies of new-born children or infants, but M. Barse has discovered them in the adult, and his statement is confirmed by M. Rossignon's account of the sources from which one at least of them is derived, viz., the copper: he has found this metal in many articles of vegetable and animal food, as in gelatine from bones, sorrel, chocolate, bread, coffee, succory, madder, and sugar. The ashes of bread yield from 0.005 to 0.008 per cent of this metal.*

In order that the albumen of the blood may be preserved in a state of solution, the blood must have an alkaline reaction: the source of this alkalinity has been made the subject of special enquiry by Enderlin in Liebig's laboratory. He has carefully analyzed the ashes of the blood, and his results will form a suitable supplement to the analysis of M. Lecanu. It is worth observing that, in the course of his enquiries, he confirms the identity between the ashes of the *blood* and the ashes of *flesh*, thus supplying an additional corroboration of the propriety of the designation of the blood by Borden, as *chair coulante* — the flesh in *potentia* of Galen. We will relate the conclusions of Enderlin in the words of Mr. Paget.

The solution of the ashes of the blood in hot water formed a very alkaline fluid, which, in all cases, contained alkaline phosphates and sulphates, chloride of sodium, and sometimes chloride of potassium. But from various tests (which Mr. Paget has repeated and verified) Enderlin proves that,—1. The alkaline reaction of the ashes cannot be due to an *alkaline carbonate*, for both the ashes and the precipitates from a solution by nitrate of silver and chloride of calcium may be dissolved in acids without the development of gas. 2. The alkaline reaction cannot depend on the presence of *caustic alkali*; for then the solution could not be, as it is, neutral after the addition of a solution of neutral chloride of calcium. 3. The absence of alkaline carbonates and of carbonate of lime in the ashes of the blood, proves that its albumen cannot be in the form of a salt (albuminate) of soda; and furnishes additional evidence that there are no alkaline salts of lactic, acetic, or fatty acids in the healthy blood; and, lastly, proves that the blood can contain no alkaline carbonate.

* However, in his last Report, Mr. Paget concludes that this question must still be left open.

4. The alkaline character of the blood ashes, and of the blood itself, must therefore be due to the phosphate of soda, and the presence of the *tribasic phosphate of soda* in the ashes, proves, according to Enderlin, that it must be in the same form (3 NaO., P. 2, O. 5.) in the *blood* itself; for this salt alone remains tribasic after a red heat,—the common phosphate of soda would yield pyrophosphate after incineration.*

The following is Enderlin's analysis of the ashes of the blood:

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| Tribasic Phosphate of Soda, | ... | ... | ... | 22.1 |
| Chloride of Sodium, | ... | ... | ... | 54.769 |
| ———— Potassium, | ... | ... | ... | 4.416 |
| Sulphate of Soda, | ... | ... | ... | 2.461 |
| Phosphate of Lime, | ... | ... | ... | 3 636 |
| ———— Magnesia, | ... | ... | ... | 0.769 |
| Oxide of Iron, with some Phosphate, | ... | ... | ... | 10.77 |

The albumen, therefore in the blood, is not in the form of an albuminate of soda, but is in combination with the tribasic phosphate and chloride: the former salt possesses in a high degree the power of dissolving proteine compounds and phosphates of lime, and it is probable, therefore, that it is the solvent of both these constituents of the blood.

The mention of *proteine compounds* suggests some reflections which are pertinent to the consideration of those elements of the blood which stand first in the analysis given above, and which the present state of chemical science appears to challenge. There cannot be a more objectionable distinction than that which is now so generally made between inorganic and organic chemistry; and the adoption of the term *proteine*† for the formula 40 C, 31 H, 5 N, 12 O, the basis of the albuminous compounds, almost looks like giving up in despair the philosophical distinction between chemistry and biology or physiology—i. e., between the two domains in which reign respectively the properties and the laws which we call chemical and vital. There is a *line* between them, but it

* Mr. Paget in his last report says, that M. Wartz has prepared albumen in a state of purity, and soluble without any alkali.

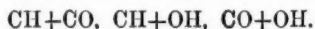
† Liebig has lately thrown doubt on the actual existence of *proteine*; he has failed to produce it.—Ibid. p. 4.

is hitherto ill defined; a border *territory*, common to both, appears, and only appears, to exist, and to it has been given the name of organic chemistry—an expression which, in reality, is self-contradictory. Indeed, discoveries have gradually been made which have made chemists suspicious that the distinction they have laid down between organic and inorganic chemistry is illusory. Was it said that dualism, or the binary principle of combination, was characteristic of inorganic chemistry? The discovery of cyanogen presented an exception, as a quasi-simple salt-radical, and of kakodyle, as a quasi-simple metal or base. Was it thought that analysis alone was applicable to the examination of organic compounds? M. Wœhler succeeded in the synthetical production of urea, the cyanate of ammonia. The sources of the erroneous views which gave rise to the faulty distinction of which we are speaking, may be traced to the neglect of two important considerations; first, the analysis of organized compounds was referred at once to the ultimate elements, and not to the immediate binary (or, at most, ternary) compounds into which those elements are first grouped; and, secondly, it was forgotten that in every organized tissue there is a *mixture* of many *compounds*, and consequently, even supposing the compounds were binary on *chemical* principles, yet, since mixture is *physical*, and admits of any, the most unlimited, proportions, the analysis of a tissue into its elements must necessarily exhibit them under an aspect irreconcilable with the law of chemical combination. Our first observation is well illustrated by the example of nitre, adduced by M. Auguste Comte; “if,” he says, “the same process had been pursued in the case of nitre as in that of organic substances, and an attempt had been made to reproduce the salt by the direct combination of oxygen, azote, and potassium, it would have been equally unsuccessful with the attempt to reproduce organic substances by the direct combination of their ultimate elements.” Let the task which Enderlin undertook—the analysis, namely, of the ashes of the blood—be considered in this aspect: if the same “destructive operation” had been employed as in the analysis of fibrine, he might indeed have discovered the relative qualities of the ultimate simple elements, and have drawn up an empirical formula for their expression, but he would never have succeeded in the synthetical process by which the salts which form those

ashes must then have been ascertained, and an intelligible result produced. Our second observation is perhaps sufficient to prove that, in our present state of knowledge, we are wholly unable to apply the principles of proximate analysis to organic substances; but to assume that what is beyond our reach is untrue, and to construct new sciences on that assumption, instead of bearing constantly in mind the unity of each great science, and resting satisfied with the task of collecting facts until we are able to trace their harmony with that unity towards which we see them tend, is unjustifiable.

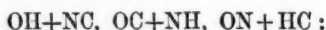
It is more than probable that the singular process by which Liebig has arrived at many of his ingenious theories, namely, the *manipulation of formulæ*, may lead to valuable conclusions on the proximate analysis of organic substances: but it must be employed by the master minds among chemists; in their management it may be a powerful instrument of discovery, in that of others (and its apparent easiness will tempt many to abuse it) it will be puerile.

The antecedent probability that the chemistry of organized, is reducible to that of unorganized substances, is shown by the author we have quoted above, M. Comte, and we will borrow his observations. It is scarcely necessary to protest against his system as a Philosophy. So far as his conclusions are positive, we may in the main accept them; but when, content with external nature, he denies religion, he is simply like a blind man denying the existence of colour. Let us regard then the vegetable kingdom, of which the essential elements are carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. These three elements are capable of being united in three primary forms of binary composition, namely, CH, CO, and OH. The vegetable tissues contain all three of these elements, and these binary compounds must therefore be united into secondary compounds, which (omitting any indication of specific number) may be exhibited by the three general formulæ;—



Our present knowledge of chemistry enables to discern in each of the terms of these formulæ, two distinct substances; under the CH, we recognize carburetted hydrogen (C, 2H.) and olefiant gas (2C, 2H.); under the CO, we have carbonic oxide (CO.) and carbonic acid (C, 2O.);

under the OH, water (OH.) and the deutoxide or peroxide of hydrogen, (2O, H). By the substitution of these known substances, severally, in the formulæ, each pair would produce *four* binary compounds of the second order, and the three pairs, *twelve*; and as each of the twelve would, in accordance with analogy, present three forms, those of neutralization, and the two extremes of reciprocal saturation, our binary compounds will be increased to thirty-six. Nay further, it is only lately that so many as *two* distinct substances have been recognized under each primary pair, and the extremely probable supposition that there may exist a *third* primary compound of carbon and hydrogen besides the two already known and specified above; and that the same will hold of the other pairs, supplies us with no less than eighty-one binary compounds of the second order, and it would be hard indeed if these were not enough to express the proximate elements of vegetable substances. A similar process applied to animal chemistry, in which Azote plays so conspicuous a part, leads to a still more remarkable result. If our readers are disposed to discover for themselves the number of binary compounds of the second order, which the present state of chemistry would supply by the various combinations of the four elementary substances, it is only necessary to remind them 1. that, as all *four* elements exist in the animal substances, we shall in this case as in the former, have only three general formulæ, viz:—



and 2. that while OH, OC, HC, severally represent two primary compounds (as above stated), NH represents but one, viz., ammonia, (N, 3 H); NC but one, viz., cyanogen, (N, 2 C.); and ON, no less than five different compounds, viz., the protoxide and deutoxide of nitrogen or nitric oxide, (NO and N, 2 O), hyponitrous, nitrous, and nitric acid, (N, 3 O; N, 4 O, and N, 5 O).

With respect then to the organic substances which enter into the constitution of the blood, we must be content to confess that our real knowledge of them is wholly inadequate. The line between chemistry and physiology is definite in theory, but indefinite in practice. Thus much is plain, the laws and properties which form the special study of the physiologist, are as distinct from those of chemistry, as those of chemistry are from the laws and

properties of physics. And this consideration will go far towards elucidating a very obscure part of natural study. It has been confessed that from their chemical analysis, not only do fibrine and albumen contain the same organic elements, but contain them in the same proportion, and it becomes matter of surprise how they can possess such characteristic differences as they do in fact exhibit. Explanation of the difference there is none, any more than there is explanation of the law of gravitation, but the phenomenon ceases to be *strange*, in the sense of being irreducible to our scientific knowledge, when it is recollected that though these substances consist of *physical* elements combined according to the law of *chemical* equivalents, they are also subject to the higher laws of *physiology*. Physical laws are modified by chemical; witness the law of the diffusion of gases, by which their obedience to the physical law of gravitation is modified, and their specific gravities now supply the rule of their diffusion:* in like manner chemical compounds acquire new properties by subjection to physiological laws.†

We may cease therefore to feel it *strange* that fibrine should differ as it does in fact from albumen. The production of the latter is a chemical process. The process of digestion, strictly so called, is so. The conversion, says Dr. Carpenter, of the azotised animal and vegetable substances into albumen, can scarcely be viewed in any other light; for the change of form and of external characters is

* The diffusive volumes of gases, bear an inverse proportion to the square roots of their respective specific gravities.

† They lose indeed in persistence what they acquire in dignity, but this is only in accordance with the universal analogy of nature. The inanimate stone persists, it does not die, for it has no life to lose; the tree maintains its vigour for centuries, but dies at last; the animal dies soon, but while it lives it possesses the higher functions of locomotion and sensation, and in its degree, of reason; man, whose prerogative it is to have a soul (over and above the life of plants and other animals) and the capacity of faith, foregoes the physical persistence of the rock, the organic longevity of the tree, the acute sensation, the rapid locomotion, the inimitable contrivance of the brute, yes, and the intellectual brilliancy of the world's philosophy, which differs in degree rather than in kind from the intellect of brutes, to embrace the "foolishness of God." Great privileges are purchased at a high cost, and the privilege of the Christian is purchased by the sacrifice of the man.

in no instance so great, as that which starch and gum undergo during their conversion into sugar, which is well known to be of a strictly chemical nature. The albumen, thus formed, becomes one of the most important and characteristic ingredients of chyle. And as soon as it is taken up by the lacteals and brought within the influence of living tissues, it begins to admit the operation of biological or physiological laws. By an act of elaboration, says M. Burggræve, peculiar to the *living organism*, the albumen is partially converted into two products, fibrine and caseine. With the latter we are not at present concerned: the former exists in the lymph, the chyle, the blood, &c.; the basis of muscles is coagulated fibrine; it exists in a free state in the blood, and differs from albumen by the power it has of spontaneous and filamentous coagulation. That is to say, fibrine possesses a property of *life* which as albumen it had not, and the question to which we are next led is, by what means is this change effected? and our attention is drawn to the third constituent of the blood as it stands in the analysis of Lecanu.

There can be no question but that the gradual conversion of the nutritive materials into fibrine commences as soon as they are taken up by the lacteals, and by the time they have passed through the mesenteric glands and are received into the general circulation from the thoracic duct, fibrine, which at first was absent, is found in considerable quantity. But it is the blood which we are considering, and in what way this change, begun elsewhere, is continued in the circulating fluid.

The red corpuscles of the human blood discovered by Malpighi, vary in size from $\frac{1}{4545}$ to $\frac{1}{3276}$ of an inch, the average being $\frac{1}{3637}$ of an inch. They are circular in shape, like pieces of coin, with depressions in the centre of each of the flattened sides. In different animals they vary in size, but not unconditionally in proportion to the size of the body; it is in *each great division* of the animal kingdom, that the size of the body with few exceptions determines the size of the red corpuscles. In omnivora they are largest, and in carnivora larger than in herbivora. In reptiles the largest and thinnest yet known occur; and of animals which possess a temporary branchial apparatus, those in which it persists longest, have the largest red corpuscles; their size in the Batrachia is well known. The red corpuscles vary also in shape. As in man, they are

circular in all mammalia, with the exception of the Camel tribe, which, with the other vertebrata, has elliptical red corpuscles. These facts are comparatively notorious.

Every fact of physiology affords matter for wonder and admiration, and is an additional evidence of the truths which natural theology is capable of illustrating. Our readers will deduce numerous instances of this kind for themselves; there is one, however, connected with the red corpuscles of the blood, which is remarkably interesting; the provision, namely, made against the violence of the circulating fluid, when it reaches the soft structure of the brain. The tortuous course of the carotid and vertebral arteries, is a provision against the same danger, and diverticula moreover exist for the reception of the blood when arrested in its too rapid course to the brain, (such are the thyroid gland and the choroid plexuses,) in order to *give time*; but besides, the capillaries of the cerebral mass are not more than half the diameter of the red corpuscles. The effect of this is, that the corpuscles are arrested, they are obliged to elongate themselves, and the friction they undergo, checks their rapidity and the nervous mass is preserved from injury.

It has been much questioned whether the red corpuscles are nucleated cells. They are confessedly so in birds, (which have the smallest elliptical corpuscles, those of the camel tribe excepted, measuring $\frac{2}{1000}$ by $\frac{1}{1000}$ inch, and being six times as long as they are thick,) and the lower vertebrata. Here the nucleus is seen, about one fourth of the size of the corpuscle, attached to the wall of the delicate elastic membrane which forms the external cell. Henle is of opinion, that in mammalia the nucleus disappears in the perfect state of the cell, by absorption. Dr. Barry holds that the young blood corpuscle in all vertebrata is a mere disc, with a depression in the centre; that in mammalia this form is persistent, in other vertebrata the disc becomes a nucleated cell. Mr. Wharton Jones, in denying the existence of a nucleus in the red corpuscle of the mammal, suggests, by way of explaining its apparent existence, that it is due to the thickness of the wall of the corpuscle and its consisting of two layers, the outer one transparent, colourless, and resisting; the inner one softer and less resisting: between the two or perhaps in the inner layer, the colouring matter is contained.*

* Paget's Report, 1842-3, p. 5.

The *function* of the red corpuscles is no less a subject of interest and speculation. Dr. Carpenter and Mr. Wharton Jones, agree in regarding them as "floating gland-cells." Dr. Carpenter believes that their office is to convert albumen into fibrine, elaborating it in their interior, and then after the manner of gland-cells, dissolving and discharging their contents. Mr. W. Jones regards them as the chief carriers of oxygen and carbonic acid. That the last opinion is true, without excluding the first, is highly probable. "It is not so reasonable to suppose," remarks Mr. Paget, whose words we have often used on the strength of our general acknowledgment, "that the effects of respiration are finished in the lungs, as to believe that the influence of the oxygen dissolved in the blood, is accomplished during the general circulation, through the medium of those cells with which it is continually in contact, and which might be compared to floating gland-cells."* We conclude, therefore, that the red corpuscles are, by means of the oxygen derived from the atmosphere, the agents by which physiological properties are imparted to the albumen during its elaboration into fibrine; and we may add too, that the presence of oxygen is necessary for exciting the tissues to the selection of those constituents of the blood which are required for their nutrition. Hence it is evident, that the blood both supplies aliment to the tissues, and the necessary stimuli to their vital actions. The remarks of Professor Mulder, on the vehicle of oxygen to the tissues are worthy of consideration, not as contradicting the above statements, but as supplementary to them. He has discovered in arterial blood two new compounds, one containing *two* equivalents more of oxygen than the formula of proteine, the other *three* more; he calls them the bin-oxide and the trit-oxide of proteine. They are formed by the oxidation of the fibrine of the blood, or at least of that compound of proteine which in coagulation appears as fibrine, as often as the blood passes through the lungs;† according to this view, one way in which oxygen is conveyed to the capillaries of the general system is by these oxides; in the capillaries the oxygen is consumed, and the proteine compound, the oxy-proteine,

* Paget's Reports, 1841-2, p. 12.

† Ibid. 1843-4, p. 4.

returns by the veins de-oxidized and in the simple form of fibrine. The formulæ for these newly-discovered compounds are, of the bin-oxide 40 C. 62 H. 10 N. 14 O; of the trit-oxide 40 C. 62 H. 10 N. 15 O.*

Some interesting conclusions have been drawn by M. M. Andral and Gavarret, on the proportions of fibrine and the red corpuscles in the blood. The energy of constitution has no constant influence on the increased proportion of fibrine, but it has on that of the red corpuscles. In herbivora the natural average of fibrine is highest, in carnivora the lowest, and the same be said of the proportion of water in the blood; while on the contrary, the highest average of the red corpuscles is found in the carnivora, and in the herbivora the lowest: In the inflammatory state the quantity of fibrine is increased, but the red corpuscles are not directly influenced by it.

The remaining constituents of the blood do not call for any particular remarks. The source from which the fatty particles are derived is well known. Huber's experiments on bees, proved that they were able to form wax from sugar and pure honey; and Dumas himself, who at first opposed Liebig's inferences from this fact, has, with M. Milne Edwards, confirmed their accuracy. The old view that sugar and starch are converted by digestion into fatty matter is therefore established. These fatty particles exist in their maximum quantity in the lacteals; in the thoracic duct, whence they are conveyed into the circulation and immediately to the lungs, their quantity is at its minimum. They have in part undergone elaboration into a higher compound; and it may be asked whether the elaboration of the globules which remain is not continued in their passage through the pulmonary capillaries, by the influence of the azote of the inspired air.†

* Dr. Ludwig has just discovered a principle isomeric with the bin-oxide, in those ill-defined animal constituents of the blood called extractive matter.

† The quantity of azote in the expired, is the same as that in the inspired air, but this does not exclude the probability of an interchange; and it may be necessary for the system to get rid of elements which have for the time served their purpose in the economy, and to receive a fresh supply of the same element. If chemical laws do not require this, physiological laws may. That nitrogen is exhaled, and therefore, (since the quantity of nitrogen is

We have seen above the important part which soda performs in the circulation; it, by its tribasic phosphate, renders the serum of the blood alkaline, and keeps the albumen in solution during its transformation into fibrine. From this arises the necessity of common salt or chloride of sodium as an article of food. Another most important purpose subserved by the soda of the blood, is its constituting the base which, combined with a peculiar organic acid, (*bilic acid* or picromel,) forms bile, a true secretion from the blood and essential to life.* When it is remembered that the blood supplied by the hepatic artery is not directly concerned in this secretion,† but that it is from the venous blood of the portal system, (which receives the blood of that artery after it has supplied its nourishment to the liver,) that the bile is secreted, the question suggests itself whether it is not in consequence of the diminished demand for the soda as a solvent of albumen, that the blood in the venous system is able to part with it for the formation of bile. The organic acid which abounds in carbon, is in carnivora derived probably from the waste of organic tissues; in herbivora, from the food directly *as well as* from the waste of the tissues, seeing that these could not alone supply the great quantity of carbon their bile contains. The liver is to be regarded as an organ similar in function to the lungs; by both the blood is purified, and the impurities separated by the former are formed into an important secretion; after this they become no longer serviceable to the economy and are excreted by the kidneys.

We proceed now to the *nature of the change* which takes place in the blood after being exposed to the atmosphere by respiration. The cause of the change in colour from the dark venous to the bright scarlet of the arterial blood, has given rise to many attempts at explanation.

The subject of respiration is too extensive to enter upon at present: it is necessary however to bear in mind in

not increased in the expired air,) that its place is supplied by fresh nitrogen, is evident from the volatile animal matter which is exhaled from the lungs, in consequence of which the vapour breathed into a close bottle will become putrid.

* See Schwann's experiments in Paget's Reports, 1843-4, p. 30.

† Dr. Carpenter's Human Physiology, § 660.

what way the atmospheric air is altered after being expired from the lungs. 1. It is heated, and is raised to the temperature of $97\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ — $99\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$, the natural temperature of the body varying from 98° to 102° , or, in England, being 99° . 2. It is saturated with watery vapour. 3. The oxygen is diminished in quantity. 4. The carbon is increased. 5. It contains some volatile animal matter, exhaled from the blood. The quantity of nitrogen is the same in the expired as in the inspired air, unless M. Milne Edwards is correct in saying that there is a larger quantity absorbed in winter.

These facts supply data on which theories have been built to explain the phenomenon now under consideration, when coupled with the changes which are observed in the blood itself, which are as follows:—1. The union of the oxygen with the blood raises its temperature by one or two degrees. 2. The arterial blood is of less specific gravity than the venous by one to three parts in a thousand. 3. The arterial blood has more fibrine than the venous: that is, the oxygen has contributed to the elaboration of fibrine, and consequently, the arterial blood is more quickly coagulable. To these may now be added the more recent discoveries of Mulder related above, the formation, namely, of the bin-oxide and trit-oxide of proteine in the arterial blood.*

Liebig was of opinion that the colour of the blood depended on the *iron* which it contains: in venous blood he maintained that it existed as a protoxide, in arterial as a peroxide. The experiments, however, of Mulder, go to prove that the elementary composition of the colouring matter is the same, whether obtained from venous or arterial blood, namely, C. 44, H. 44, N. 6, O. 6, Fe. 2, and he agrees, for this and other reasons, with Scherer and Nasse, in rejecting the theory of Liebig, but he differs from them in the theory he would substitute. *They* ascribe the change in colour to a change of shape in the

* None of these alterations appear *essential*, and it might be asked, why then is venous blood incapable of supporting life? May not the answer lie in the distinction we have above insisted on, between chemistry and physiology? Physiological products have a certain period of life, and when that period is elapsed, the effete particles must be replaced by others which have not yet been subjected to physiological laws.

red corpuscles, and they prove by experiments that by the addition of either distilled water or carbonic acid to arterial blood, the biconcave form of the red corpuscles becomes biconvex, and the colour is changed from red to black. If we are to ascribe the change in colour to this change in form, the diminution in the specific gravity of the blood after passing through the lungs and the loss of carbonic acid, would both lead us to ascribe the alteration in form not to the admixture of water, but to that of carbonic acid in the venous blood. The theory which Mulder himself advocates is the following. In the passage of the blood through the lungs the red corpuscles become invested with a thin layer of white and imperfectly transparent oxy-proteine or buffy coat. This may arise from one of two causes; either the fibrine-proteine of the liquor sanguinis by becoming an oxy-proteine acquires an increased plasticity and is thereby deposited in a thin layer on the corpuscles, or else the outer layer of the investing membrane itself of the red corpuscles is oxidized, and in this way the oxy-proteine is formed. In either case there is produced on each corpuscle a *buffy coat*, as in the coagulation of blood with an excess of fibrine; and its contents acquire a bright red colour, as is the case with dark blood when contained in a vessel of milk-white glass. In the systemic capillaries, the oxy-proteine is consumed in nutrition, and the dark colour is restored. The other phenomenon also which accompanies the buffy coat in coagulation occurs here: the corpuscles are not only buffed but *cupped*, for when they appear dark their shape is biconvex, but in the arterial blood it becomes biconcave. With respect to the iron of the blood, Professor Mulder supposes that it exists in hæmatine, in the same way as iodine does in sponge, or arsenic in kakodyle.

2. We have less space for our second subject than we had anticipated. That which will occupy us last, obliges us to compress our present remarks as much as possible. Perspiration is a secretion from the blood: *insensible* perspiration is always taking place in health; and it becomes sensible under exertion, in active exercise or mental emotion. But in perspiration the red corpuscles do not escape in ordinary cases: some persons have questioned the possibility of their escape, but there are well recorded facts which make its possibility certain. Dr. Stroude quotes

Dr. Milligen's explanation of the phenomenon: he says—

"It is probable that this strange disorder, (*diapedesis* or sweating of blood,) arises from a violent commotion of the nervous system, turning the streams of blood out of their natural course, and forcing the red particles into the cutaneous excretories. A mere relaxation of the fibres could not produce so powerful a revulsion. It may also occur in cases of extreme debility, in connection with a thinner condition of the blood."—*p.* 380.

Dr. Stroude has collected a number of cases which establish the reality of "bloody sweat," *p.* 85, and in Note III. at the end of his work. We have not room to do more than refer our readers to them, and to quote his application of his facts to the solemn subject of our Lord's agony in the garden. The physical cause of our Lord's bloody sweat will be made clearer by the considerations which will soon engage our attention in speaking of his crucifixion. Suffice it at present to say that it was the natural effect of our blessed Lord's mental agony: Dr. Stroude's words are,—

"The statement that the agony of Christ was a violent conflict between opposite mental emotions, and that his sweat was literally mixed with blood in a half coagulated state, is strongly confirmed by the consideration that St.* Luke, the only sacred writer by whom the awful scene is described, was a physician, and that the terms which he employs, and which occur in no other part of the New Testament, are strictly medical."—*p.* 387.

This last assertion he proceeds to corroborate by authorities. We content ourselves by referring to Dr. Stroude's work itself, and proceed to our third point, in considering which we shall have to speak again of the events in the Garden of Gethsemani.

3. As the subject which we have so hastily dismissed, illustrates the *first* of the Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary, the topic which we have now to treat will illustrate the *last* and consummating one. And writing these lines, as we do, on the Festival of the Commemoration of the Passion of our Lord, (12th. Feb.,) we would desire, under the patronage of Mary, the Mother of Sorrows and of Mercies, that the language of science may speak nothing

* We take the liberty of prefixing this title.

rude or unbecoming. So guarded, both writer and reader may address themselves to the facts of science unfearingly: "And the priest said: Lo, here is the sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom thou slewest in the valley of Terebinth, wrapped up in a cloth behind the ephod: if thou wilt take this, take it, for there is none other but this. And David said: There is none like that, give it me."*

How few among the crowds that thronged Jerusalem at the Passover, under the pontificate of Caiphas, were conscious that the Antitype of the Paschal Lamb was there, Emmanuel, the Son of Mary! As he traversed the city in the guise of a poor man, without a certain dwelling-place and dependent upon charity: when in the thoroughfare he meekly gave way to others, or was carelessly, perhaps rudely, thrust aside by the worms he made: how did he differ in outward circumstance from the poor man *we* meet in every street, or the labouring man in rough apparel, from whose contact our fastidiousness shrinks, and whose salutation we count it a condescension to acknowledge? Who but Mary saw in him with unwavering faith, the Father's Eternal Son? And in the very midst of his Passion, when he was haled to Calvary, how would the more part regard the clamour that followed him, but as a street disturbance; the commoner sort and the idlers would join the mob from curiosity; the men of business or leisure, would hardly count it worth their while to ask the matter, or if they did, would think it little concerned them that an impostor† and a madman,‡ along with two thieves, was on his way to execution; and when the noise had died away, they would forget it all. How many were there who were wholly ignorant of what was doing in the Judgment Hall and on the scene of man's redemption, till they heard of it afterwards in connexion with an increasing sect which the better orders persecuted and despised. All that was outward was of the earth, all that came before the senses was such as the senses could recognize: and, if you will, reason, that would condescend so low, might admire the meekness, the endurance, the sympathy, the forgiveness of injuries, the filial tenderness, of the Nazarene, and be disposed to judge him innocent with Pilate; but that

* 1 Kings xxi. 9.

† St. John vii. 12.

‡ St. John viii. 48.

faith alone that sees her God and Saviour in the consecrated Host, confesses him also on the Cross.

But to what end are these observations? To this: that so far as the circumstances of the crucifixion meet the eye, so far, unless there were reason to the contrary, we should expect them to fall in with those general laws of nature with which we are acquainted. Now there are two circumstances which have been abused by misbelievers to discredit the gospel history: first, from the rapidity of our Saviour's death some have argued that he was not really dead at the time he was taken from the cross; and, secondly, the flow of water and blood has been regarded as inexplicable. Physiology enables us distinctly to explain the last phenomenon; the phenomenon itself could not have happened unless death had preceded, and the explanation of the phenomenon further involves the necessity of sudden and immediate death.

The volume placed at the head of the present article undertakes to set in a clearer light than has hitherto been done, the physical cause of the death of our Lord; and Dr. Stroude's application of the science of physiology illustrates remarkably the following general rule. The Holy Scriptures describe events in a language which adapts itself to every age. They state facts in their simplest aspect, and in a way, therefore, level to the least advanced stage of scientific knowledge: but the simplest aspect of a fact includes within it its remotest causes, and, consequently, science in its progress towards perfection finds in the simple narrative an application of its latest discoveries. Men, according to the age in which they live, will regard the events of Scripture in different lights; those which are simply miraculous, as the raising of Lazarus, will at all times be viewed in the *same* light; others, which are *strange* and inexplicable by natural causes only because science is not sufficiently advanced so to explain them, will be received by simple faith; and if the unbeliever (arguing with the same deficiency of scientific knowledge) objects to them as unnatural, the believer will find no difficulty in referring them to the former class of simply miraculous events; and this, though not accurate, will be a provisional safeguard to his faith. It does not, therefore, surprise us when we find some events supposed to be miraculous, which the advance of science proves to have been in accordance with the system of nature. On the

contrary, the occurrence of such cases is an additional evidence of the veracity of the narrative: a strange, unheard of occurrence is recorded, which for eighteen hundred years bears the antecedent marks of improbability; still it stands in the simple history, and it is believed by simple faith, and at last the labours of the physiologist, experiment and observation shed the light of science on the (physically) obscure event, and the inspired narrator is proved to have related a *fact* from its very improbability.

In addressing ourselves to Dr. Stroude's volume, we must begin with disclaiming it as a *theological* work. Dr. Stroude is not a Catholic. So far, then, as the work is doctrinal, we do not look for instruction: but, on the other hand, the Church has from the first assimilated the physical or metaphysical truths which aliens from her fold have elicited, while it is from her alone that they can learn the way of salvation. They are her unwitting pioneers; she alone possesses the Faith and the Sacraments which can make them wise and happy. At the same time, who is there who will not respect the pious Protestant who uses the portion of truth which still remains to the sect in which, by God's permission, he was born, and praise his efforts in the defence of those fragments? This respect and this praise we gladly pay to Dr. Stroude; and is there not many a Catholic, who, profiting by his labours, will requite the obligation by a *Pater* and an *Ave*, that the reward of good Cornelius may be also his. The only proof of *fragmentary* truth well used, is to embrace the *whole* truth, when proposed by the Church of the living God, which is its pillar and its ground.*

But we must return to our physiology, and as the subject which is now before us is one of universal interest, our scientific readers will bear with us if we enter more into detail in order to make ourselves generally intelligible.

The blood consists of (1.) water holding (2.) albumen in solution in process of elaboration into (3.) fibrine by the operation of the (4.) red corpuscles. These four constituents are in the blood. The red corpuscles, by conveying the oxygen of the atmosphere throughout the circulation, and by that means endowing the materials of nutriment with living

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

properties, and quickening the tissues to separate these materials for their own repair from the blood, entitle the blood to the character of vitality—"The life of the flesh is the blood."^{*}

When we speak popularly of life, we use the word in a sense totally unconnected with the notion of a *soul*: we say that trees possess life, that is, organic life, and brutes certainly possess life, that is, animal life, in as distinct a sense as man. In this connection, life expresses the properties of an organization under the influence of its natural stimuli,—heat, air, water, and food. Organized bodies have a definite period of duration, and when that period is elapsed, there follows naturally the disintegration of the organization. This is also expressed in truer language thus: Almighty God, by His immediate providence and agency, sustains the creature He has made for the certain period which His wisdom has determined; at the close of that period He withdraws that preserving power, and the creature dies. His providence may prolong or shorten the period, but the rule is plain: *The days of our years are threescore and ten years.*[†] The death of the whole animal in this sense is called somatic death. Man differs from other animals in that somatic death is accompanied by the separation of his soul from his body; the destruction of the merely animal $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ by the separation of the $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ [†]. But, besides this *somatic* death, which affects the whole body, every tissue of which the body is composed has a period of life of its own assigned to it, and, at the end of that period, dies. For brevity's sake we will just refer to the deciduous or milk tooth: it is developed, grows, its fang is absorbed, and is itself cast off. This death has no special name; for lack of a better we will use the words *textural death* to express it. External violence may, of course, produce this textural death prematurely: if such violence happen to an essential organ (as the heart) somatic death ensues; if to a part which is not essential to the economy (as in the amputation of an arm) somatic life may continue. This textural death is essential to life: every motion calls some muscle into

^{*} Lev. xvii. 11.

[†] Ps. lxxxix. 10.

[†] See the expressions of the four Evangelists in recording the death of our blessed Lord.

action, and in every action the muscle is partially disintegrated, that is, a part of it undergoes textural death, and the repair is effected by the blood. The blood itself possesses this textural life, and its particles are subject to this textural death. "Textural" is a bad word to apply to a fluid, and "molecular" might be better; but the meaning we wish to convey is plain, and it is more simple, if possible, to express the same phenomena by the same word.

It appears, therefore, that in some cases textural death does *not* involve somatic death; in others it *does*; and that somatic death, though it is necessarily followed very *soon* by the death of every tissue, is not of necessity *immediately* followed thereby. Somatic death has taken place, and still observation has proved that *for a time* particular glands go on separating their proper secretion from the blood; and the muscles exhibit their last act of textural life in that spontaneous contraction which produces the stiffness of death (*rigor mortis*) seldom beyond seven hours, but sometimes as much as thirty hours, after death; and lasting ordinarily from twenty-four to thirty-six hours.*

This textural life and death explain the phenomenon of the *Coagulation of the Blood*.

If we bear in mind that of the main constituents of the blood, the water and the albumen, which it holds in solution, are only chemical compounds, and therefore lifeless, whereas the red corpuscles and the fibrine are elevated to a vital character, we shall naturally look to these last for any manifestation of the life which still continues in the blood. Nor do we look in vain: in the act of coagulation (1.) the red corpuscles arrange themselves in columns, like piles of halfpence; and (2.) the fibrine, which is the really important agent in the act, and exists (not in solution, but) in a free state, gradually contracts into a kind of sponge-work, and carries with it in its contraction the more solid red corpuscles entangled in its meshes, while the fluid serum is left behind; in this way a firm red clot or crassamentum is formed in the centre of the albuminous solution or serum, increasing in firmness until the vitality of the fibrine is exhausted by its textural death. In common language the serum, from its appearance and fluidity,

* Dr. Carpenter's Human Physiology, § 389.

is called the *water*, and the clot, from its colour, is called specially the *blood*.

In certain conditions of the system, the fibrinous part of the blood and the red corpuscles are not in their due proportion. In inflammatory fever the fibrine, in idiopathic fever the red corpuscles, are in excess; in chlorosis the red corpuscles are in defect. The first and last cases agree in this, that, in proportion to the red corpuscles, the fibrine is in excess. When blood in this condition coagulates, there is found, "not unfrequently"* in chlorosis, a colourless layer of fibrine on the upper surface of the clot, with no red corpuscles in its meshes, and always in the case of inflammation. In inflammation this effect, called the *buffy coat*, is increased by circumstances, observed partly by Mr. Wharton Jones, partly by Mr. Gulliver. The former had remarked that the red corpuscles of inflammatory blood have an unusual attraction for each other, which occasions their coalescence in piles and masses;† so that, by this character, the state of the blood may be detected from the examination of no more than a single drop of the fluid. The more vigorous the textural life of the blood, the longer will the coagulation be delayed,‡ and the more time, therefore, the red corpuscles will have to sink by their specific gravity, before the contraction of the fibrine. Mr. Gulliver has observed that the rapidity of their sinking depends on the rapidity and completeness with which they aggregate in rolls and clusters;§ and this again will depend on the vigour of their textural or molecular life. Every circumstance, therefore, in inflammation (in which condition the vital powers are abnormally

* Dr. Carpenter's Human Physiology, § 591. c.

† Dr. Carpenter, Ibid. § 588. Mr. Paget has connected this fact with the theory proposed by Professor Mulder, (and related above,) with regard to the oxy-proteine compounds found in arterial blood. Mulder's theory accounts for an increased plasticity in the red corpuscles, and their increased plasticity explains the phenomenon of aggregation mentioned in the text. Paget's Reports, 1843-4, p. 8. May it not, however, be asked whether Mulder's theory does not apply to arterial and not to venous blood? or does the exposure of the blood to the atmosphere supply the answer to this objection?

‡ Burggraave, Histolog. p. 182.

§ Paget's Reports, 1845-6, p. 6.

excited) contributes to the formation of the buffy coat: and the more intense the inflammation, the more actively will these circumstances operate. Gravitation will make the lowest part of the clot the firmest, from the greater quantity of the red corpuscles, while the contracting power of the fibrine will experience less resistance at the upper part, and will produce a *concavity* on the surface. We express these two phenomena of inflammatory blood in coagulation by speaking of the clot as *buffed* and *cupped*.*

It may naturally be asked, whether this process of coagulation takes place after death *within* the heart and blood-vessels. We cannot answer this question better than by quoting from Dr. Stroude's work the observations of Mr. Paget.

"In all cases it must be remembered, that the coagulation which takes place in the body, is much slower than that which ensues in blood drawn from it, either during life or after death; so that a quantity of uncoloured fibrine is found in the heart and uppermost vessels of the dead body in many cases, in which it is most probable that had the blood been drawn during life, it would not have presented a buffy coat."

* Since writing the above, we have received Mr. Paget's last Report (for 1845-6.) and we must not omit some interesting remarks by Dr. Polli. He supposes in inflammatory blood two modifications of fibrine, to the influences of which he ascribes the increased length of time which inflammatory blood requires for coagulation. In the first degree of inflammation, he supposes a mere increase in the quantity of fibrine; in a higher degree, fibrine is found with a special modification in its vitality, the effect of which is, slower coagulation of the blood, and to this therefore he gives the name of *Brady-fibrine*. This, like ordinary fibrine, increases by its presence the specific gravity of the liquor sanguinis; not so, however, the other modification of fibrine which exists in more acute inflammation; in this, which he calls *Para-fibrine*, the fibrine is rarified to such a degree, that it more than balances the effect of the fibrine and brady-fibrine, and in consequence their common abstraction from the liquor sanguinis increases the specific gravity of the serum. To this para-fibrine he ascribes the great delay which sometimes happens in coagulation, and indeed his belief is, "that no blood is really incoagulable out of the body till it decomposes." The diminished Sp. G. of the liquor sanguinis, evidently favours the subsidence of the red corpuscles, the ready formation of the buffy coat, and the increased thickness of this coat.

That is, from the length of time before coagulation, the red corpuscles sink by their greater specific gravity, and occupy the depending parts; and *when* the fibrine coagulates, it forms a polypus-looking mass above the mass of red corpuscles.

"In the majority of cases, the blood does not coagulate in the body for the first four hours since its rest has commenced. In many, it remains fluid for six or eight or more hours, and yet coagulates within a few minutes of its being let out of the vessels."—*p.* 405.

What becomes of the serum? Again the same physiologist shall speak :

"I have never found clear serum, such as I could suppose to be separated from the blood in its coagulation, collecting in any part of the body after death. I suppose that it gravitates to the dependent parts of the body, and is there imbibed by the adjacent tissues, which are thus rendered moister and more cedematous than those in the upper or anterior parts. All that I have seen, leads me to think that in the very great majority of cases, all the blood remains fluid till the heart ceases to act—that then it gradually coagulates in the same manner in which it would out of the body, only much more slowly; that the colouring particles, descending more and more deeply in direct proportion to the time occupied in the coagulation, leave a certain portion of uncoloured fibrine above them; and that, just as happens in blood drawn from the body, the serum is in part separated during the coagulation of the fibrine, and in part squeezed out by the contraction of the clot. The clot, I suppose, is detained in the place in which it forms, either by its adhesion to the adjacent structures, or by being supported by the parts in which it is, as it were, modelled; and the serum, as it separates, flows down to the more depending portions of the body, and is there either retained in the vessels, or infiltrated into the adjacent porous tissues."—*Ibid.* *p.* 405.

We are now approaching the most solemn event, to which we desire, without presumption, to apply the results of our physiological science. In the death of our blessed Lord we find, (1.) that the event was sudden; (2.) that, on the soldier piercing his side, "blood and water" flowed therefrom, that is, blood separated into its two parts by coagulation—the more solid and coloured part, which we call "blood," and the clear serum, called "the water." Both these circumstances call for explanation.

The explanations which have hitherto been considered
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the most satisfactory, are those of the two Gruners and Richter. They will be found in the Fifth of Bishop Wiseman's Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion. But they cannot be considered conclusive. The younger Gruner confesses it, by being obliged to suppose our Saviour *faintly alive* up to the time of the lance's stroke, else the "blood would not have flowed;"* his father, again, is *anxious* to prove that "the words used by St. John to express the wound inflicted by the lance are often used to denote a mortal one," &c.; and Richter observes that "the abundant gush of the blood and water must be considered *preternatural*."† The water has been supposed to have been lymph from the pericardium, but the cause of its effusion into the pericardium has been omitted, and indeed no probable one exists. Vogler‡ supposes it to have been serum separated from the blood, but how came it separated so shortly after death? and, supposing it separated, how is it that it was found so situated as to follow the stroke of the soldier's spear? These are all objections which must occur to a physician; and satisfactory answers to them have not hitherto been given. Dr. Stroude has made many judicious and conclusive remarks on this subject in the fifth Note appended to his work, in proof, that is, of the unsatisfactoriness of the accounts hitherto proposed.

It is necessary to observe that, great as the physical sufferings of crucifixion were, the fact that the principal commentators, both ancient and modern, have looked for additional causes over and above these, to account for the rapidity of our Lord's death, proves, that they regarded these sufferings, by themselves, an insufficient cause.§ Dr. Stroude does not indeed give full weight to the aggra-

* Bishop Wiseman's Lectures, vol. i. p. 271.

† Ibid. The works quoted by Bishop Wiseman, to which we have not immediate access, are "Caroli Frid. Gruneri, (i. e. Filii,) Commentatio Antiquaria Medica de J. C. morte vera non simulata." The work of the father, Christian Gruner, "Viudiciæ Mortis J. C. veræ," and "Georgii G. Richteri, Dissertationes quatuor Medice," Götting. 1775.

‡ Physiologia Historiæ Passionis. Helmst. 1693. Bishop Wiseman's Lectures, Ibid.

§ See Dr. Stroude, Chap. iii. and p. 47.

vating circumstances which augmented those sufferings in the crucifixion of our Lord: he seems to forget the *wanton* cruelty which he met with from the soldiers, and the brutal violence of the smiters, the spitting, the buffeting, the mocking and the crown of thorns, as well as the probability that Pilate, in his very wish to release him from *death*, sought to raise the people's pity by exaggerating the preliminary legal sufferings: he does not give its due weight in this respect to the preceding agony in the garden: nor to the history of the carriage of the cross: neither does he give their due weight to the Meditations of Saints, who have, by grace, penetrated deeper than the surface of the sacred narrative; nor to such living representations of the Passion of our Lord as are seen in the *Addolorata*.* No doubt the mental anguish of our blessed Lord's human soul *far* exceeded any, the most excruciating, bodily tortures: yet these tortures *were* most excruciating. No doubt the most insignificant pain borne by our Lord for men, the smallest drop of his blood shed for us, had been enough for our redemption:

"Pie Pelicane Jesu Domine,
Me immundum munda tuo sanguine,
Cujus una stilla salvum facere
Totum mundum quit ab omni scelere,"

are the words of St. Thomas, and express the consensus of the Doctors of the Church: but it was his will to suffer, and his motive was Love.

Neither was the cause, conjoined with the bodily sufferings which our Lord endured, simple *exhaustion*. Dr. Stroude errs in his description of the life of our Lord: he will not have "fasting and mortification" form a part of it,† nor that

* Dr. Stroude is a physician and a religious man. Is it not worth his while, for his soul's sake, to undertake a visit, (as has been done before now for a like purpose,) to this wonderfully privileged woman, and see so clear an evidence for the faith, which at present is not his? The church in which alone this promised continual gift of miracles remains, surely challenges his obedience. Some of the aggravating circumstances we have alluded to, will be found in *Medulla asceseos seu Exercitia S. Ignatii*, à Bellecio, p. 348; and in that wonderful little book of St. Alphonsus Liguori, "Jesus hath loved us," Richardson, Derby, 1845.

† Dr. Stroude, p. 71.

“His pale weak form,
Was worn with many a watch
Of sorrow and unrest,”

still it is Catholic truth that the human nature of our Lord was absolutely pure and perfect,* and that there was nothing sickly, vitiated or imperfect in it: and it is no less true that the “Seven Last Words” indicate the full possession of the faculties of mind and body, as constituting His human nature, to the last moment of life.† The same is apparent from physiological considerations, though it seems abrupt to introduce them here: anything which renders contemporaneous the death of the body and the death of its component tissues, precludes the coagulation of the blood. The reason is plain: coagulation is an act of textural or molecular life; if the blood has lost this life contemporaneously with the cessation of the circulation, this effect of its life cannot take place. Now there are circumstances under which somatic and textural death happen simultaneously. 1st. When death is produced by a sudden shock, as, by lightning: in this case, the *whole vitality of the system is destroyed* at once: even external marks of violence, as being something *partial*, are not necessarily found; and the blood does not coagulate.‡ 2nd. in the case of death by exhaustion. The same cause exists here: the *whole vitality of the system is spent*, the vitality of the parts no less than of the system, somatic and textural death are synchronous; and again, the blood does not coagulate.§ 3rd. We might speak of the cases of necræmia, in which the whole system and the blood are simultaneously depraved, but it is enough to refer our readers to Dr. Williams, on the Principles of Medicine, p. 385, quoted by Dr. Carpenter, § 592.

It is clear then that to ascribe simple exhaustion to our blessed Lord, would render unintelligible the phenomenon of the effusion of the blood and water from his pierced side: and our difficulties are still unsatisfied.

But when physiological science presumes thus to approach the sacred body of our Lord, and ventures to speak

* Dr. Stroude, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 72.

‡ Dr. Stroude, p. 146, and Dr. Carpenter's Human Physiology, § 386.

§ Dr. Stroude, p. 148.

of the external facts which veiled the mysteries of redemption, in language which sounds technical and strange; let it not be forgotten that the effusion of "blood and water" is a mystery no less than a fact. St. John bears special testimony to this effusion,* not only as the certain proof of our Saviour's death and as a testimony to His real humanity,† but as showing forth the mystery of the Church's origin, His spotless Spouse. The soldier with his spear "opened" the side of Jesus on the cross, and so "the door of life was opened wide and thereout gushed the Church's Sacraments, without which sacraments there is no entrance into life. The blood was shed for the remission of man's sins: water is mixed with wine in the chalice of salvation, and water is the laver of baptism. Here was indeed the door of the ark of Noah, and by this door all the creatures entered that were saved: that ark is the Church. Again, Eve was taken from the side of Adam as he slept, and her name signifies 'life,' and she is the mother of all living. So the second Adam, bowed his head and slept upon the cross, and from His side was formed His spouse, the antitype of Eve before Eve sinned."‡ Again, "Behold a mystery inscrutable is consummated: water came forth and blood; not by mere chance, not without a meaning, gushed these fountains forth, but as the well-springs of the Church. They, who have been initiated into the faith, know that it was hence that flowed, their regeneration by water, their nutrition by flesh and blood: hence sprang that two-fold mystery, and when thou approachest that admirable chalice, draw near as to the very side of Jesus, and drink therefrom."§

We have seen (1.) that the coagulation which produced the "blood and water," could not have taken place if the blood had continued *within its proper vessels* (the heart and arteries) within a smaller space of time than four hours, at the very lowest computation; whereas the interval between our Lord's death and the commencement of the Jewish sabbath at sunset and at the vernal equinox, was only three hours, and of these three hours not more

* St. John xix. 35.

† 1 St. John v. 7. Note, Douay Bible.

‡ St. August. Lection. vii. viii. in Fest. de Lanceâ et Clavis.

§ St. Chrysost. Lect. ix. in Commemorat. Passionis, D. N. J. C.

than two can be assigned* before the blood and water were poured forth: even supposing the coagulation could have taken place, the "water" would have disappeared by infiltration into the dependent parts: (2.) we have seen that simple *exhaustion* would exclude the possibility of coagulation.

The blood therefore that flowed from the "opened" side of our blessed Lord, must have been (1.) *out of* its proper vessels, and besides, (2.) in a *situation* whence it might easily† flow through the wound, and follow the soldier's lance.

With respect to the *situation*; the pericardium, the membranous bag with which the heart is invested, obviously satisfies this condition. Dr. Stroude's remarks on this subject are as follows:—

"The wound was a stab to the heart. This agrees with the prediction of Zachariah quoted by St. John, 'They shall look on him whom they pierced;' for in this passage both the Hebrew and Greek terms signify a fatal wound, and in the Old Testament the meaning of the former is almost always that of stabbing to the heart, a practice familiar to the ancient Israelites, on which account mention is so often made in that portion of Scripture, of smiting *under the fifth rib*; so that the prediction might with perfect propriety have been rendered, 'They shall look on him whom they pierced to the heart.'"—p. 128.

The probability that the position of the heart would be selected is confirmed by the intention of the blow, which was, at least in part, to insure the death of our Lord. Under God's Providence the blow was permitted to supply demonstrative evidence that he was indeed dead.

With respect to the effusion of the blood *out of its proper vessels*, we must observe that the time required for coagulation under *such* circumstances, is more than comprised in the two hours' interval, which can be assigned between our Lord's death and the opening of his side. We quote Dr. Stroude's authorities:—

" 'When blood,' says Mr. Wilson, 'passes in a free stream into

* Dr. Stroude, p. 155. 406.

† Compare with this the observation of Bishop Wiseman in a note to his fifth Lecture, on the *size* of the wound in our Saviour's side. The *freedom* with which the "blood and water" came forth, is an additional proof that the opening must have been considerable.

a basin, and is allowed to remain at rest, it begins to jelly or coagulate in three minutes and a half.....In blood taken from a healthy person, the coagulation is generally completed in seven minutes, and in twelve minutes, (although it will sometimes take a longer time,) the mass will be very firm. Soon after this, a transparent watery part will be perceived transuding through the pores of the coagulum, the coagulum at the same time contracting itself, leaving the sides of the basin but still preserving its original shape, &c..... Mr. Hewson and Mr. Hey of Leeds, prove that the coagulation and separation of the blood take place most readily when that fluid is kept in a temperature nearest to its standard heat, viz. 99°. The period at which concretion takes place, observes Mr. Thackrah, is commonly from three to eight minutes after the blood has been taken from the body. The subsequent effusion of serum is from one to three hours."—p. 412.

Effusion into the pericardium may ensue from the rupture of a blood vessel, or some peculiar condition of the pericardial capillaries; but the few cases of this kind on record imply, as might have been expected, local debility or disease, which is incompatible with the perfection of the body of our Lord, and this cause therefore is inadmissible.*

There remains one other alternative. The necessary conditions for rapid coagulation are supplied by supposing that the blood of our Lord had escaped into the pericardium; the temperature of His sacred body would contribute to the same effect,† and the situation would agree with the soldier's stroke.

Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem, My soul is sorrowful even unto death, were the words uttered by Jesus in the garden of Gethsemani: his sorrow was enough to break his heart: Gethsemani was a prelude to Calvary; his sufferings in Gethsemani amazed his *soul*, "*Tristis est anima mea, My soul is sorrowful;*" it was overwhelmed with consternation and distress; and he withdrew from his disciples and fell on his face and prayed, "My Father, if it be possible let this chalice pass from me." "In the days of his flesh," says St. Paul, "with a strong cry and tears he offered up prayers and supplications to Him that was able to save him from death," and, for the time, he *was* saved, "he was heard for his reve-

* Dr. Stroude, p. 153.

† Ibid. p. 154.

rence,"* for "there appeared to him an angel from heaven strengthening him,"† "and encouraging him to suffer the more for the love of man and the glory of his Father."‡ Consternation and agony, such were the conflicting emotions which assailed our Saviour's human soul; the former *depressing*, the latter *energizing*; the former enfeebling the action of the heart, the latter making it act with vehemence, and forcing in so extreme a case a bloody sweat from the pores of his skin. It was when the angel came, that agony succeeded consternation; not till then did his sweat become as "clots of blood dropping to the ground." And fearful was the agony which in the chill night, when others needed a fire of coals to warm them, bathed our Saviour in a sweat of blood. But the agony for this time passed away, to be renewed with still more vehemence on Calvary.

And on Calvary his soul again was assailed, first with consternation, and then with agony; and not his soul alone, but his *body* now was racked with excruciating pain; and moreover, as the B. Virgin revealed to St. Bridget, when he saw his *mother*, he was more grieved for her than for himself.§ No angel was sent now; but, on the contrary, "The Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all." He, whose very essence was simple holiness, now suffered on the cross as though he had sinned, being "made a curse for us,"|| and calling the sins of man his own: "Far from my salvation are the words of *my* sins."¶ If, in the lower degree, in the garden of Gethsemani, the hour's agony of our Lord produced a bloody sweat: now that it lasted three whole hours, and the sun was darkened as in sympathy, we may well look for the natural issue of the agony arising from such aggravated suffering. For a time, for three hours, the divine sustained the human nature; at last, when all was accomplished, that aid was withdrawn, and nature was permitted to have its course: "Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?"—*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*—pro-

* Hebr. v.

† St. Luke xxii.

‡ St. Alphonsus.

§ St. Alphons. *Jesus hath loved us*, Ch. 13.

|| Gal. iii. 13. "Non sine tropo," Justiniani.

¶ Ps. xxi. 2. See Justiniani in Epist. B. Pauli. in Galat. iii. 13.

claimed the crisis, the nearest approach to the pain of loss of which our Lord was capable, who was never more than in his abandonment the object of the Father's complacency; the heart of Jesus burst, and his blood, as of a victim, was poured forth; a few seconds more gave time for the two last words, "Consummatum est," "Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum," which announced the conflict over, and the restoration of the beatific vision which for a moment had been suspended:

"The soul that seemed
Forsaken, feels her present God again,
And in her Father's arms,
Contented dies away."

The physical cause of the death of our blessed Lord was, therefore, we conclude, the agony or conflict between the desire of deliverance from the sense of the divine abandonment, and the desire of enduring it for our sake; and the natural result of that agony, namely, the rupture of his sacred heart.

We have seen that *other* accounts do not satisfy the Gospel narrative—we must show that the account we have just given from Dr. Stroude *does*.

1. It accounts for the *rapidity of the coagulation*: for the blood, while retained within the body, but not within its proper vessels and therefore no longer acted on by the coats which are natural to it, will coagulate in the same way as it does when drawn from the body into a basin; and the more rapidly in consequence of the sustained temperature.*

2. It accounts for the *rapidity of our Saviour's death*. The rupture, probably of the *left* ventricle, opened a passage to the blood into the pericardium; the blood, there confined, stopped the circulation by compressing the heart from without, and induced almost instantaneous death:† yet not necessarily *so* instantaneous as not to afford time for the last words of our blessed Lord.‡

3. It accounts for the flow of the blood, separated into its "blood and water," from the wound of the spear in our

* P. 88, proved by cases, p. 89, &c.

† See Dr. Stroude, p. 155, and Note v.

‡ Proved by cases, p. 126.

Lord's side—i. e., it satisfies the condition of *situation*.

4. It accounts for the *quantity* of blood and water, implied by St. John's narrative. In one case of instantaneous death from effusion of blood into the pericardium, from the rupture of a diseased aorta,* "the pericardium contained about a quart of blood and water, or of blood separated, though indistinctly, into serum and crassamentum.† In another case the effusion amounted to five pints, and in another to three quarts.‡

A "broken heart" is not a mere metaphor. Its immediate cause§ is "a sudden and violent contraction of one of the ventricles—usually the left, (because the stronger, and therefore contracting more energetically ||)—on the column of blood thrown into it by a similar contraction of the corresponding auricle. Prevented from returning backwards by the intervening valve, and not finding a sufficient outlet forwards in the connected artery, the blood reacts against the ventricle itself, which is consequently torn open at the point of greatest distention, or least resistance, by the influence of its own reflected force." Among the causes of rupture of the heart, we find enumerated by Dr. Hope and Dr. Copeland: "Considerable efforts, paroxysms of passion, external violence, violent mental emotions, especially anger, fright, terror, unexpected disappointment, intelligence abruptly communicated, anxiety, sudden and violent muscular efforts, or prolonged physical exertions of any kind, particularly in *constrained positions*."¶ If this be so, was not the cause adequate to the effect in the final agony of our Lord? and if the consequences of that supposed effect alone satisfy the conditions of the Gospel narrative, may we not, with Dr. Stroude, regard *rupture of the heart*

* We have excluded the possibility of the effusion of blood on the cross into the pericardium, proceeding from this or like causes, because aneurism or anything which includes *disease* is inadmissible.

† Dr. Stroude, p. 152.

‡ Ibid. and p. 408.

§ Ibid. p. 88.

|| Page 89. "It is only strong muscles which undergo rupture, from the energy of their own contraction." Dr. Hope.

¶ Ibid.

from *mental agony*, as the physical cause of the death of Christ?

We hope that we have done Dr. Stroude's argument justice with respect to the main subject of his work ; while we confess that there is much more in it worthy of consideration, but to which it was beside our purpose to refer.

We conclude with an evidence in favour of Dr. Stroude's view, quoted indeed by himself, but little valued by him.* Catholics will be glad to read the following passage from the Revelations of St. Bridget. Our blessed Lady says :

" When his death drew near, and his heart was *broken* (*rumpe-retur*) through the vehemence of his griefs, then trembling seized his limbs, and his head, after lifting itself a little began to bow. His mouth was seen open, and his tongue all bloody. His hands were drawn back a little from the nails that bored them, and the weight of his body rested more upon his feet. His fingers and arms some how stretched themselves, and his back was applied straitly to the cross. And some said to me, Mary, thy Son is dead ; and others, He is dead, but He will rise again. As they spake, there came one with a lance, and thrust it with such force into his side, that it well nigh passed right through even to the other side ; and when the spear was withdrawn, its point was red with blood. Then, when I saw the heart of my own dear Son so pierced, I felt my heart too, as it were, pierced through and through. Our Lord replies, ' Yes, when my heart was *broken* (*rumpebatur*) on the cross through vehemence of grief, thy heart was wounded at the sight as by the sharpest sword, and willingly wouldst thou have had it cleft in twain, had I but willed it so.' "

ART. III.—*The Poetical Works of William Motherwell. With a Memoir*, by JAMES MACCONECHY, Esq., 8vo. Second Edition, Enlarged. Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, 1847.

AMONG the host of claimants for poetical reputation whom the literary vicissitudes of the last twenty years have raised up and cast down, the name of William Motherwell appears for a long time to have passed almost

* Dr. Stroude, p. 397.

without notice, and, far from having attained to early or extensive popularity, can hardly be said to have attracted in any marked degree the attention of the general public. Perhaps indeed, under all the circumstances, it would be hard to expect a different result, even had his merits been of a higher order. It is not easy for a purely local author to force his way through the exclusiveness of the great world of literature; and even had the opportunity offered, Motherwell does not appear to have possessed that stamp of character which would have enabled him to improve it permanently and efficiently. His poems originally appeared at intervals in local periodicals, almost all obscure, and many of them of brief and precarious existence, and the first collected edition was offered to the world without any of those indescribable, but well-understood, technical advantages which would have overcome the obstacles in the way of its success.

Nevertheless, in despite of all these disadvantages, the neglected poet has always had a circle of admirers, limited, perhaps, but constant and sincere; and it is pleasant to observe that his name has insensibly forced its way into notice. A new edition of his poetry has been called for at home; in America it has already been twice republished; and although we are far from adopting the exaggerated estimate of the author's merits formed by some of his admirers, yet we have no doubt that his poetry has at length come to be appreciated, and that he is destined to maintain a high and permanent place among the most respectable of the Minor English Poets. Although we fear the interest of the subject may appear in some degree almost antiquated, yet we are sure we need not offer any apology for devoting a few pages to a brief account of his life and writings.

The edition now before us is not a mere reprint of the volume published during the lifetime of the author. Besides the biographical memoir, (which, though it leaves much to be supplied in such a life as Motherwell's, yet contains a sufficiently interesting account of the most important facts of his history,) the volume comprises twenty additional pieces, some of them among the best in the entire collection. Most of these were found among the papers which the author left behind him; and the editor informs us that he has in his possession many other fragmentary poems, "in different stages of advancement, some

being more and some less finished," which he holds out a hope of publishing at some future time.

The life of Motherwell is marked by little of the romantic interest which usually attaches to the history of literary men. He was born in Glasgow, in the year 1797, of a family which would seem to have been anciently of some importance, though at the time of his birth it had fallen to the rank of middle life. He was educated at Edinburgh, partly under the care of an eminent English master named Lennie, who has communicated some interesting particulars regarding his youthful studies, partly also at the High School of that city, but chiefly at a grammar school in Paisley, where a branch of his family resided. From the testimony of one of his surviving school-mates, it would seem that his talents, even thus early, were highly appreciated; but, from the "small Latin and less Greek" which his after efforts display, it is natural to conclude that his application to school studies was limited and irregular. His school friend remembers, that "what Motherwell was most remarkable for was his gift of spinning long yarns about castles and robbers and strange out of the way adventures, with which, while his master imagined he was assisting his class-fellows in their lessons, he would entertain them for hours, day after day, like some of the famous story-tellers in the Arabian Nights, and these stories were retailed at second hand by his class-fellows to those who had not the privilege of hearing them from himself."*

From all this it will readily be gathered that, as far as regards classic literature, Motherwell was an under-educated man. Later in life he attempted to remedy the defect of his early studies by entering the Greek and Latin classes in Glasgow College; but the effort does not appear to have been made with much earnestness or success. The want might in some degree have been supplied by assiduous cultivation of the modern languages; but, although he was himself painfully sensible of its existence, neither his tastes, nor perhaps his opportunities, led him to adopt these studies as a means of supplying the void. A still more remarkable trait in one of his peculiar temperament is the singular indifference, if not absolute disrelish, which he entertained, not alone in boyhood, but even in maturer

* Memoir, p. xix.

years, for historical reading. His attainments in this important branch of literature were at all times miserably slender; and the want is easily traceable in his poetry, which is singularly destitute of historical as well as classical allusions. Indeed, if he can be said to have cultivated literature as a study at all, his attention was confined almost exclusively to the imaginative departments; and the illustrations with which his poetry abounds will be found to have been drawn, for the most part, either from imagination, assisted by his own observation of the great book of nature, or from the rich treasure-house of the older poets of our own language.

Beyond these, and a few similar facts illustrative of his early habits of mind, the account of Motherwell's boyhood contains little that is in any way characteristic, with the exception of one incident, which is too remarkable to be overlooked, especially as it gave occasion to one of the most exquisite ballads in the whole range of Scottish poetry. We allude to the romantic and devoted attachment which he formed, almost in childhood, for one of his school-mates of his own age, and which, though the parties never met in after life, Motherwell appears to have carried with him to the grave. We are sure that there are few of our readers who have not heard or read the exquisitely simple but touching ode to "Jeannie Morrison," in which this tale of childish "true love" is immortalized. Though written, it is said, before the age of fourteen, it was not published till the last years of his life, when it was purchased by the proprietors of an Edinburgh Magazine for the paltry sum of thirty shillings. There is nothing in the most finished of Burns's ballads with which it will not bear an honourable comparison.

Soon after he was withdrawn from the grammar school of Paisley, he was placed in the office of the sheriff-clerk in that burgh. The following particulars of this portion of his life are derived from Mr. Sheriff Campbell.

"When I first knew William Motherwell, he was a very little boy in the Sheriff-clerk's office here. I had observed his talent for sketching figures of men in armour and otherwise, and amongst the rest one of myself, upon a blotter which I had occasion to use when sitting in the Sheriff-court. I gave him a few ancient documents to copy for me, and in place of an ordinary transcript, I received from him with surprise and satisfaction, a *fac-simile* so perfect, that except for the colour and texture of the paper, it would have been difficult

to distinguish it from the original manuscript. Finding him a smart and intelligent boy, I asked him to give me a statement in writing, of certain occurrences to which he had been a witness, at a period when the peace of the district was threatened. This account was not confined to facts, but was interspersed with observations and reflections of his own, of a nature so unexpected and curious, that I wished to preserve it; but I am sorry that in a search made for it some years ago, I was unable to find it. The notions of the boy, were then what would now be called *extremely* liberal. In process of time, however, his views changed, and I used to joke him on the ground that his conversion had been beaten into him by a party of lads, (radicals,) with whom he happened to get into conflict. On that occasion, he was thrown down and trampled upon in the street, and received injuries so severe, that his life was thought in imminent danger. This, I believe, was in 1818 or 1819, during a time of great political excitement. He was appointed to the office of Sheriff-clerk Depute in the county of Renfrew, under the late Robert Walkinshaw of Parkhouse, the principal clerk, in May 1819, and held that situation with credit till Nov. 1829.

"His talent for poetry was accompanied by a strong taste for the antique, and I cannot help thinking that the last may have had its origin in the copying the ancient document for me. While in office here, he contributed articles to the Paisley Advertiser, and ultimately became its Editor. He had also a chief hand in commencing and conducting a Paisley Monthly Magazine, which lived to attain the size of a good volume. It contained many contributions from his pen, besides a number of curious extracts from documents which his researches among the papers in the Sheriff-clerk's office brought to light. At a recent sale of the library of a deceased Paisley gentleman, this magazine though poorly bound, brought the respectable price of 22s. and 6d. His temperament was enthusiastic, kind, and convivial.....I had a great regard for him."—Memoir, pp. xxiv-vi.

The comparative leisure and independence of his new position enabled him to cultivate more successfully the tastes of which he had thus early given indication. He contributed some poetical pieces to a small work called the Visitor, which was published at Greenock; and in 1819 he himself edited, with an extremely interesting introductory Essay, (anonymously) a volume of local ballads, entitled *The Harp of Renfrewshire*. Some years later he ventured upon a publication in his own proper person, *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern*; to which he prefixed a valuable historical introduction. It was about the same time also that he undertook the management of the Paisley Magazine, already referred to, which he conducted with the

assistance of a few friends during the year 1828, and to which he contributed some of his best pieces.

The same year, however, brought about a change in Motherwell's position which materially affected his later poetical labours. The good-humoured allusion made by Mr. Sheriff Campbell to the conversion effected in the poet's early political principles, will hardly have prepared the reader to find him suddenly assume the office of editor of a conservative journal, called the *Paisley Advertiser*; from which, in about two years, he was invited to undertake the management of the more important and influential *Glasgow Courier*. This office he retained above five years, till his death in 1835. It is hardly necessary to say that the drudgery and excitement of an editor's office assort but ill with the ordinary habits of mind which we are apt to regard as necessary for the successful cultivation of poetry; and the difficulty in Motherwell's case was increased by the stormy period at which he entered upon this occupation, so uncongenial to poetical pursuits, even under the most favourable circumstances. The discussions upon the Reform Bill were perhaps louder and more angry in Glasgow than in any other community in the empire; and it would have needed a less excitable temperament than his to have preserved itself unmoved amid the rude collisions of that fretted time. He appears to have entered unreservedly into the excitement of the party which he represented; and although we have no knowledge of the spirit and temper in which his journal was conducted, yet we would gather from the deprecatory and apologetic tone adopted by his biographer that it was far from being immaculate. Indeed, the very circumstance of his being enrolled a member of the Orange Society, with which he had no national or even strictly political sympathies, would seem to show that he must have been a decided and thorough-going partisan.

Under all these disadvantages however he contrived to steal a few hours for poetry, and he had a very considerable share in a publication entitled *The Day*, which was established at Glasgow in 1832. His contributions to it consisted not only of poetical pieces, but also of a series of humorous prose papers entitled, "Memoirs of a Paisley Bailie." It was in this year also that he collected into a volume all his poetry which had appeared in various publications, and published it under the title of "*Poems, Nar-*

native and Lyrical." All these pieces are comprised in the volume before us.

His connexion with the Orange Society, is regarded by his biographer as the indirect cause of his premature and lamented death. During the sittings of the memorable Committee of Inquiry, in 1835, he was summoned to give evidence with reference to its working in Scotland, where he had been acting as one of the District Secretaries of the body. We shall permit his biographer to recount the melancholy sequel.

"Motherwell remained in London for about a week, and there can be no doubt that he exhibited great mental infirmity before the committee, in common speech he 'broke down.' That this did not result from any want of courage on his part, will be at once admitted by those who knew the man; but it is proper to remark, that in all such circumstances he was constitutionally 'unready' and slow of utterance. He not only required time to arrange his ideas and consolidate his thoughts on the most ordinary occasions, but he was habitually slow, and even confused, in the expression of them. No ordeal could therefore be more embarrassing to him than a formal examination before a body of sharp-witted men, whose pleasure it is not unfrequently to lay snares for an inexperienced witness; but besides this, I am convinced that on this particular point Motherwell was at fault as to knowledge—that he had never seriously enquired of himself, what Orangeism was or what object was to be gained by its propagation—and that consequently he must have failed when rigorously interrogated by an intelligent and authoritative tribunal about these matters. Let me further add in explanation of this melancholy occurrence, that it has been long my fixed impression, that he was labouring under the effect of the approaches of that insidious disease, (softening of the brain,) which destroyed him a few months afterwards; and those who remember the circumstances attendant upon his visit to the Metropolis, and the strange fancies which haunted him while there, will probably have no difficulty in accepting this apology, for what we may now call an involuntary weakness. The indications of this mental debility did not escape the observation of the gentlemen composing the committee, and Mr. Wallace of Kelly, at that time member for Greenock, with a kindness which was the more honourable to him, that Motherwell had frequently spoken of him in his editorial capacity with considerable severity, paid him marked attention; and perceiving how matters really stood, lost no time in getting his bewildered countryman shipped off to Scotland.

"On his return he resumed his old habits of life, and was to all outward appearance in perfect health. On Saturday, the 31st of October 1835, he dined and spent the evening in the house of a

gentleman in the suburbs of Glasgow. There was dancing, and it was observed that he bled freely at the nose, which was attributed to the heated state of the apartments. On going into the open air for a short time the bleeding stopped, and at half past ten he left his friend's house in the company of the late Mr. Robert McNish, (better known as the Modern Pythagorean,) and the late Mr. Philip Ramsay, and from these gentlemen he parted about eleven o'clock. At four o'clock of the morning of the first of November, he was suddenly struck while in bed with a shock of apoplexy, which almost instantly deprived him of consciousness. He had simply time to exclaim, 'my head! my head!' when he fell back on the pillow and never spoke more.

* * * * *

"He expired gently and without suffering at eight o'clock, thus closing a life of incessant labour and of some anxiety, not unmixed with enjoyment, at the early age of thirty-seven."—Memoir, pp. xlvii-viii.

From this brief, and, in many respects, painful, outline of the Life of Motherwell, we gladly turn to his poetry.

The collection consists exclusively of short pieces, the longest scarcely exceeding a dozen pages; and indeed it is not difficult to see that the writer's forte lies in that simple tenderness and exquisite polish which form the great requirements of narrative and lyrical poetry, rather than in the sustained energy and passion which are essential to a lengthened poem. The few heroic pieces which Motherwell has left—as the Norse ballads of "The Battle-flag of Sigurd," "The Wooing Song of Jarl Skallagrim," and "The Sword-chant of Thorstein Raudi," or the Turkish ballad, "Ouglou's Onslaught," though they possess very great merit, and would, in themselves, establish the reputation of the author, yet will never bear comparison with those minor poems which form the staple of the volume, and to which the writer appears to have devoted his heart as well as his imagination. Of these there is not one so thoroughly characteristic as the well-known piece to which we have already alluded, "Jeanie Morrison;" but we shall select another, which is in the same Scottish dialect and the same simple measure, and which if it be less finished than the ode to his boyish love, has at least the advantage of being less familiarly known. It tells its own sad story.

“ My heid is like to rend, Willie,
My heart is like to break—
I'm wearin' aff my feet, Willie,
I'm dyin' for your sake!
Oh, lay your cheek to mine, Willie,
Your hand on my bried-bane—
Oh, say ye'll think on me, Willie,
When I am deid and gane!

“ It's vain to comfort me, Willie,
Sair grief maun hae its will—
But let me rest upon your bried,
To sab and greet my fill.
Let me sit on your knee, Willie,
Let me shed by your hair,
And look unto the face, Willie,
I never sall see mair!

“ I'm sittin' on your knee, Willie,
For the last time in my life!
A puir heart-broken thing, Willie,
A mither, yet nae wife.
Ay, press your hand upon my heart,
And press it mair and mair!
Or it will burst the silken twine
Sae strang is its despair.

“ Oh wae's me for the hour, Willie,
When we thegither met—
Oh wae's me for the time, Willie,
That our first tryst was set!
Oh wae's me for the loanin green,
When we were wont to gae—
And wae's me for the destinie,
That gart me luv thee sae!

“ Oh dinna mind my words, Willie,
I downa seek to blame—
But oh! it's hard to live, Willie,
And dree a warld's shame!
Het tears are hailin' ower your cheek,
And hailin' ower your chin;
Why weep ye sae for worthlessness,
For sorrow and for sin!

“ I'm weary o' this warld, Willie,
And sick wi' a' I see—

I canna live as I hae lived,
 Or be as I should be.
 But fauld unto your heart, Willie,
 The heart that still is thine—
 And kiss ance mair the white, white cheek,
 Ye said was red langsyne.

“A stoun’ gae’s through my heid, Willie,
 A sair stoun’ through my heart—
 Oh! haud me up and let me kiss,
 Thy brow ere we twa part.
 Anither, and anither yet!—
 How fast my life strings break!
 Farewell! farewell! through yon kirk yaird,
 Step lichtly for my sake!

“The lav’rock in the lift, Willie,
 That lilt far ower our heid,
 Will sing the morn as merrilie,
 Abune the clay cauld deid;
 And this green turf we’re sittin’ on,
 Wi dew draps shimmerin sheen,
 Will hap the heart that luvit thee,
 As warld has seldom seen.

“But oh! remember me, Willie,
 On land where’er ye be—
 And oh! think on the leal, leal heart,
 That ne’er luvit ane but thee!
 And oh! think on the cauld, cauld mools,
 That fill my yellow hair—
 That kiss the cheek and kiss the chin,
 Ye never sall kiss mair!”—pp. 30-33.

Very different in character are the following slight but graceful and expressive lines. We have seldom seen a greater profusion of illustrations crowded into a brief space, each preserving its own individuality, and none repeating the idea presented by any of those which had gone before.

“What is Glory? What is Fame?
 The echo of a long lost name;
 A breath—an idle hour’s brief talk,
 The shadow of an arrant nought;
 A flower that blossoms for a day,
 Dying next morrow;

A stream that hurries on its way,
 Singing of sorrow ;—
 The last drop of a bootless shower,
 Shed on a sear and leafless bower ;
 A rose stuck in a dead man's breast—
 This is the World's fame at the best !

“ What is Fame ? and What is glory ?
 A dream—a jester's lying story,
 To tickle fools withal, or be
 A theme for second infancy ;
 A joke scrawled on an epitaph,
 A grin at Death's own ghastly laugh ;
 A visioning that tempts the eye,
 But mocks the touch—nonentity ;
 A rainbow, substanceless as bright,
 Flitting for ever,
 O'er hill-top to more distant height,
 Nearing us never ;
 A bubble, blown by fond conceit,
 In very sooth itself to cheat ;
 The witch-fire of a frenzied brain,
 A fortune, that to lose were gain ;
 A word of praise, perchance of blame,
 The wreck of a time-banded name—
 Ay, *this* is Glory ! this is Fame !”—pp. 97-8.

Among the curiosities of the volume are a few imitations of the antique ballad, in which it is attempted to copy not only the quaintness and simplicity of sentiment, but also the peculiarity of structure and orthography which characterizes the original. Two of them especially, “*Elfinland Wud*,” and “*Lord Archibald*,” possess very great merit, independently of the interest which belongs to them as imitations ; and indeed we question whether they do not lose in effect by the affectation of antiquity, which, however skilfully it is disguised, cannot fail to distract the mind from the subject. Not so with the following lines to the poet's native stream. They are nature and simplicity itself.

“ Sweet Earlsburn, blythe Earlsburn,
 Mine own, my native stream,
 My heart grows young again, while thus
 On thy green banks I dream.
 Yes, dream !—in sooth I can no more,
 For as thy murmurs roll,

They wake the ancient melodies,
That stirred my infant soul.

"I've told thee one by one the thoughts—
Strange shapeless forms were they—
That hung around me fearfully,
In childhood's dreamy day.
And still thy mystic music spake,
Dimly articulate,
Yielding meet answer to the dreams,
That shadowed forth my fate.

"I've wept by thee a sorrowing child,
I've sported mad with glee,
And still thou wert the only one,
That seemed to care for me;
For in whatever mood I came,
To wander by thy brim,
Thy murmurs were most musical,
Soul-soothing as a hymn.

"I've wandered far in other lands,
And mixed with stranger men,
But still my heart untravelled sought,
Repose within thy glen.
The pictures of my memory,
Were fresh as they were limned,
Nor change of scene nor lapse of years,
Their lustre ever dimmed."—pp. 247-8.

It is not always, however, that he writes in so cheerful a mood as this. On the contrary, the prevailing expression of his poetry is despondence and melancholy. The following singularly touching lines were found among the papers which he left behind. They bear a strange resemblance, not alone in the general sentiment, but even in the lesser details, to a similar fragment of our own Gerald Griffin, discovered among his papers after his death. We must be permitted to transcribe this piece without curtailment; for it is especially interesting to us, as being the first scrap of Motherwell's poetry with which, several years since, we became acquainted, and that to which we are indebted for the pleasure which we have since drawn from his poetry.

“ When I beneath the cold red earth am sleeping,
 Life's fever o'er,
Will there for me be any bright eye weeping,
 That I'm no more ?
Will there be any heart still memory keeping,
 Of heretofore ?

“ When the great winds through leafless forests rushing,
 Like full hearts break,
When the swollen streams, o'er crag and gully gushing,
 Sad music make ;
Will there be one whose heart despair is crushing,
 Mourn for my sake ?

“ When the bright sun upon that spot is shining,
 With purest ray,
And the small flowers their buds and blossoms twining,
 Burst through that clay ;
Will there be one still on that spot repining
 Lost hopes, all day ?

“ When the night shadows, with the ample sweeping—
 Of her dark pall,
The world and all its manifold creation sleeping —
 The great and small ;—
Will there be one, even at that dread hour, weeping
 For me—for all ?

“ When no star twinkles with its eye of glory,
 On that low mound ;
And wintry storms have with their ruins hoary,
 Its liveness crowned ;
Will there be then one versed in misery's story,
 Pacing it round ?

“ It may be so—but this is selfish sorrow
 To ask such meed,
A weakness and a wickedness to borrow
 From hearts that bleed,
The wailings of to-day, for what to-morrow
 Shall never need.

“ Lay me then gently in my narrow dwelling,
 Thou gentle heart ;
And though thy bosom should with grief be swelling,
 Let no tear start ;
It were in vain—for Time hath long been knelling,
 ‘ Sad one, depart ! ’ ”—pp. 212, 213.

At times his melancholy is not so spiritless and unhoping. There is a more healthful tone in the sadness which runs through the following piece, which we cannot prevail upon ourselves to omit, not only because we regard it as possessed of great merit, but because it illustrates very remarkably some of the most striking points in the author's character.

"I am not sad, though sadness seem
At times to cloud my brow ;
I cherished once a foolish dream,
Thank heaven, 'tis not so now.
Truth's sunshine broke,
And I awoke,
To feel 'twas right to bow
To fate's decree, and this my doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb.

"I grieve not, though a tear may fill
This glazed and vacant eye ;
Old thoughts will rise, do what we will,
But soon again they die ;
An idle gush,
And all is hush,
The fount is soon run dry ;
And cheerly now I meet my doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb.

"I am not mad, although I see
Things of no better mould
Than I myself am, greedily
In fame's bright page enrolled.
That they may tell
The story well,
What shines may not be gold.
No, no ! content I court my doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb.

"The luck is theirs—the loss is mine,
And yet no loss at all ;
The mighty ones of eldest time,
I ask where they did fall ?
Tell me the one
Whoe'er could shun
Touch with oblivion's pall ?
All bear with me an equal doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb.

"Brave temple and huge pyramid,
Hill sepulchred by art,
The barrow acre-vast, where hid,
Moulders some Nimrod's heart ;
 Each monstrous birth
 Cumbers old earth,
But acts a voiceless part,
Resolving all to mine own doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb.

"Tradition, with her palsied hand,
And purblind history, may
Grope and guess well that in this land,
Some great one lived his day ;
 And what is this,
 Blind hit or miss,
But labour thrown away,
For counterparts to mine own doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb !

"I do not peak and pine away,
Lo ! this deep bowl I quaff,
If sigh I do, you still must say,
It sounds more like a laugh ;
 'Tis not too late
 To separate
The good seed from the bad,
And scoff at those who scorn my doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb.

"I spend no sigh, I shed no tear,
Though life's first dream is gone,
And its bright picturings now appear,
Cold images of stone ;
 I've learned to see
 The vanity
Of lusting to be known,
And gladly hail my changeless doom,
The darkness of a nameless tomb."—pp. 107-110.

These specimens must suffice to enable the reader to form a judgment of the general merits of Motherwell's poetry. We could have wished to extract a few stanzas from the Northern Battle-songs, to which we have already referred, and from another piece of very dissimilar character, but perhaps of still greater power, "The Madman's

Love." But for these and many other most interesting pieces we must refer to the volume itself.

The passages which we have selected will be found to possess many points of resemblance with the poetry of Mrs. Hemans. Indeed, there are some of Motherwell's odes and ballads which, if printed in the same collection with her poetry, would bear all the internal marks of authenticity. In those gifts which are commonly regarded as the source of great poetical power—the capacity of representing strong passion, especially of the darker kind—or of sustaining through a lengthened and connected poem the individualities of a character or the consistencies of a plot, both must be regarded as notably deficient. But in those pleasing qualities which lend to poetry so much of its attraction—simple and unstudied pathos, a thorough mastery of the language and the sentiment of the affections, a vivid though chaste and natural imagination, and a perfect command of all the niceties of poetic language and all the varieties of poetic rhythm—in these and a thousand other nameless perfections, their works present a most striking similarity, and (if we allow for the peculiarities induced in each by national associations, and for the naturally less masculine tone of the female mind) we might almost say, identity, of style and of character.

It is hardly necessary in conclusion to express our anxious hope that the success of the present volume may be such as speedily to induce the editor to prepare for publication the whole, or at least a selection, of the poems which yet remain in manuscript.

ART. IV.—*Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia (Article, "Tables")*.
London: 1846.

WE suppose it will hardly be disputed, that to speak the opinion of mankind, we must say that of all disgusting drudgery, numerical calculation is the worst: a combination of all the worry of activity with all the tediousness of monotony and all the fear of failure. That there should

be some who are fond of it, is evidently in the fitness of things: for *de gustibus non est disputandum* must be and ought to be a rule of quiet life; and to secure it, the most extreme cases should be capable of citation. But that this most misguided minority should be excessively small, and always has been, and always will be, is what will be held incontrovertible. Nevertheless, seeing that calculation is one of the active wants of life, that some of it is necessary to all, and that it is the soul of commerce, and one of the great helps of every kind of administration, many who are as averse to its practice as the very soundest of the majority could wish, may be interested in some cursory remarks on the steps by which mankind have, in these later ages, attempted to supply their deficiencies and avoid their antipathy at one and the same time.

It may also be a question whether, as ideas connected with number are more and better instilled into us in early youth, we are not, without knowing it, gradually advancing; though the phrases by which each age expresses its disgust at more than it can easily do, remain the same. The Homeric chief, who had no easier way of saying that the Greeks were more than ten times as numerous as the Trojans except a declaration that if one Trojan were to serve wine to each decad of Greeks, many decads would want a wine-bearer,—would probably have found it no very easy thing to count his clan or his prisoners. But the children among us can run up and down the scale of numbers, and can command a varied phraseology on the subject of absolute and relative magnitude, which would have made Ulysses himself pause and rub his forehead. Nor have differences of race and country shown less marked effects than those of time. While Archimedes was writing a book, merely to show that it was possible to carry expression of ideas so far as to imagine and write down the number of grains of sand which would fill what was then supposed to be the universe, the Brahmins were teaching a popular mythology which made use of such numbers, and described the existence of the gods in terms of them. A London stock-broker of our day has often a power of mental calculation which would have appeared little short of miraculous to the splendid Italian merchants who first in Europe made use of the Indian notation. A child of the nineteenth century would smile at Oughtred, one of the great promoters of algebra in Eng-

land, and the inventor of the sliding rule, when he found 18 times $17+15$ by first finding 18 times 17, then 18 times 15, and afterwards putting the two together. Since great progress is possible and is actually being made, we may look forward to the period when our best computers will be the object of a similar comparison.

If we might venture to predict, we should say that a change such as none but a sanguine mind can now contemplate as possible, will be wrought by the introduction of a decimal coinage, and a decimal system of weights and measures: the first alone would be sufficient, since most calculations are made in terms of money. At present the future man of business is soon taken from the great processes connected with abstract numbers, to employ himself upon the subdivisions of our monetary system, in which his previous acquirements are but of secondary use. It is not to the point to urge upon the public the superiority of the race of calculators which would arise under a plan in which, from beginning to end, operations of arithmetic would be simple and uniform: the public would not understand it. When other modes of reasoning have convinced them that it would be for their benefit to make the change, they will then learn to find out that they have several advantages which they did not count upon into the bargain. In the meanwhile, all that calls attention to the subject of calculation in general, and brings people to think of it as a matter to be amended, is a step towards another order of things.

It would seem as if from time to time, persons have arisen with an extraordinary power of calculation, just to prove that humanity is capable of much more than is in its present state. And it is, we believe, indisputable, that in no one instance has extraordinary power of calculation been allied to or followed by, anything like aberration of, or morbid deficiency in, the other parts of intellect. The love of computation has sometimes been a ruling passion, but we have never met with an instance in which it has led to, or even been said to have led to, any more than the mildest form of the usual effects of ruling passions. In the three remarkable instances of the last century and of the Saxon race, in which individuals were publicly exhibited and gave the most surprising proofs of mental power in arithmetic, the subsequent lives of those individuals were (in two cases are) unmarked by any want of proper balance

of mind. An active and intelligent civil engineer in this country, and a plain teacher of religion in the United States, can bear testimony to an excessive, and apparently morbid, early power of calculation being no hindrance, but the contrary, in the pursuits of life. On the other hand, we have had many opportunities of seeing and reading of the good effects of computation as a discipline, independent of mathematics, from which it is perfectly distinct. A restless and unsettled habit of mind, apt to diverge from the point under consideration, has often been mended or cured by a methodical application to mere routine of arithmetic. Diversion from unpleasant thoughts, when desirable, can by many be more easily obtained by turning the attention to numbers than in any other way. But this resource fails at last, for after sufficient practice, most persons would be able to calculate and to think of other things at the same time.

At the time of the invention of printing, the sole help of the computer was the abacus, or board on which he made counters help his memory. The places of public resort were provided with them; and the *Chequers* as the sign of a public-house, still reminds us of the table on which the worthies of the town settled their accounts by the unerring process of absolute counting; the *ipsa corpora* of the coins they were to exchange being represented by bits of wood. Whether our community is much entitled to smile at their ancestry, considering the coarse and rude processes to which so many of themselves are obliged to have recourse, is more than we can undertake to settle in the affirmative. We have seen men of business multiply by ten by making the multiplications of each figure, the carriages, &c., instead of annexing a cipher to the multiplicand. We know that there are many who have no multiplication table except actual addition *pro re natâ*, and men too who make a respectable show in business. And the great majority of those who can work a question dare not diverge in the slightest degree from their routine: they have no command of the principles which will give certain reliance upon the truth of the result in instances which present a short way of working. A great many can only master half the multiplication table: they remember 8 times 5, by first suggesting to themselves that it is 5 times 8, and then, and not before, they can remember 40. All who know how much the ordinary power of computation de-

pend upon routine, are suspicious, and perhaps justly, of departure from it. They do not see, when they observe such a thing, how they are to know that the party is qualified to leave the guide which so many want. A person was once employed (we have heard the story told as a known truth) to select a trustworthy arithmetical clerk for a friend. To every candidate who applied, the referee put but one question, "How many do two and three make?" Some answered *five*, some, *five, of course*: and all the reply each such respondent got was, "Sir, I am obliged to you, and if I want to see more of you, you shall hear from me." At last came one who, when the usual question was put, answered, "Wait a minute, Sir," pulled out pencil and paper, and, within the time bargained for, presented the following, with "You will see, Sir, that it is five."

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 3 \\ \hline \text{Total, } 5. \\ \hline \hline \end{array}$$

"You are the man for me!" said the referee. Without going absolutely this length, we should rather rely, in the present state of things, upon a scrupulous follower of routine, than upon one who followed his own plan of the moment, unless we knew him well.

The chequered board and the counters gave that security to the correctness of the result which the *tallies* afforded as a record of it. The famous bits of wood which spitefully burned down the Houses of Lords and Commons when they were dismissed from existence, were not actually used in computation, but were made to serve the purpose of a written cheque and the counterpart which remains in the book after it is torn out. When the wood had been split in various ways across the breadth, in a manner agreed upon, to denote a sum of money, the whole was split into two down the length, each giving a record to which it was impossible to forge the other piece, or to alter it without detection.

The next attempt to introduce mechanical calculation was the celebrated one of Napier, in his *bones* or *rods* as they were called: the description of which is to be found in most arithmetical works of the seventeenth century.

Granting the multiplication to be an insuperable difficulty, which it was at the time to the greater number: and also that extensive questions of ordinary multiplication are very common, which our subdivision of weights, measures, and money prevents—it may then be said that *Napier's rods* would still be useful. But the truth is, that an ordinary computer of our day, with his command over the products of two digits, would be at the end of his work almost before the follower of Napier had arranged his rods in their places.

It is a very remarkable thing that the English, whose position among numerical computers was respectable from the first, and who after the decline of the Italian Republics, produced by far the most extensive systems of commercial arithmetic, were, of all, the people among whom most attempts were made to substitute “instrumental tricks and practices,” as Oughtred calls them, for computation by pen and paper. We might fill an article with accounts of the attempts which were made to supersede the rules of arithmetic, particularly in astronomical computations. But it would be little to our present purpose to dwell upon more than the contrivance which has lasted, and will last—the *sliding rule*.

A French work which describes this instrument, assures its readers that it is in such repute in England, that boys are taught the use of it with their alphabet. But the fact is, that few enough among us are aware of its existence, though most may remember, when reminded of it, that they have seen carpenters' rules with a good many figures on them, and a brass slide also with figures on it. We should be well pleased if the French writer's assertion were true: for the instrument is capable of many uses, and is easily learnt by those who have any real knowledge of decimal notation. But here again is one of the disadvantages attending our present cumbrous system of money, &c. It is very difficult to make a sliding rule useful enough to those who have no frequent occasion to depart from money questions. If these last were decimal, it might with advantage be almost always in the hands of all who have any multiplication calculations; particularly when interest, under any name, is concerned. To give an idea of what might be done, we take a little ruler of eight inches long, and ask what is the interest for 239 days when that for a year is £178. By setting 239 on the slide oppo-

site to 365 on the ruler, we find $116\frac{1}{4}$ on the slide opposite to 178 on the ruler, the answer is £116. 11s. Thus we have the answer in round numbers, almost by inspection. Now it is precisely the characteristic of the ordinary arithmetician that he dares not attempt an answer in round numbers, by any of those modes which give the shortest approach. When £116 will do, he cannot neglect the pence, even to take care of the pounds. A sliding rule, to keep watch upon the leading figures, would even now be most valuable: when the decimal system is introduced, it will be one of those luxuries which use soon converts into necessities.

Many carpenters, many engineers, and all excisemen, are aware of the enormous power which this little apparatus puts into the hands of those who will take the pains to learn its use. To the navigator a ruler without slide, compasses supplying its place, has long been deemed almost an essential, in the royal navy at least. Like all other things of the kind, it is capable of any degree of enlargement in parts, in such manner that portability shall be retained by sacrificing the parts which are not so much wanted. A broker on the stock exchange, for example, deals much with multiplicands from 80 to 120, and multipliers from 3 to 6; all manner of fractions included. It might easily be managed that the whole length of the ruler and slide should be devoted to the parts of the numerical scale in which he is most concerned to calculate.

In speaking, however, of the sliding rule, we are upon a subject the capabilities of which have hardly received a thought, and in which the most extensive improvements can be readily suggested: not indeed as to the principle, but as to the invention of modes of application. The aid of which the world has availed itself to some purpose, is the construction and use of *tables*.

An arithmetical table may be one of two species: the first, merely an exhibition of results, for the sake of those results; the second, an instrument, the parts of which are intended for use, and are of no especial value for their own sakes. The principle of the first is readily understood: any body can see that, when he wants to know the price of 13 at 1s. $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a-piece, it is convenient to look in a book (wrongly called a *ready reckoner*, more properly a *reckoning ready*), and in a certain line of a certain page to find

£1 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. The second sort—under which are comprehended tables of logarithms, of trigonometry, and, for most of their uses, of compound interest—require skill, and are therefore of little use to the world at large.

But many other divisions of tables might be made. There are those which have been created by the demand for them, and are such as might have suggested themselves as wanted. Such are extended tables of multiplication for common calculators, and of prime numbers (or such as consist of no equal parts (but units) for mathematicians. On the other hand are those which are the obvious fancy of some devoted calculator, whose imagination was struck by the novelty of some process, or the necessity of facilitating some species of computation, to which few except himself had ever attended. Of the latter species we may describe an instance, which will show the curious in numbers how a man may sometimes pass his life in their pursuit without exciting their attention, or, directly or indirectly, asking their opinion.

The late Mr. Goodwyn of Blackheath—of whom we know nothing but his name, his residence, his works, and the immensity of the pile of manuscript calculations which was bought by the Royal Society at a sale—was one of those men of whose deaths may be remarked, as in the case of Euler, that they “cease to calculate and to live.” It very frequently happens that such men do not attend to any particular application of computation: they cannot endure to be called off by the intervals in which it is to be settled what is to be done, and how. But they bend their minds to some enormous task of pure numeration, and persevere until it is time to begin another—that is, until the first is done. So it was with Mr. Goodwyn, whose peculiar passion it was to investigate the connection between the common and the decimal fraction. He contemplated writing down every fraction less than half a unit (from which the others are easily obtained) the denominator of which does not exceed one thousand, arranging these in order of magnitude, and writing opposite to them the corresponding decimals to eight places. This task involved the formation of more than *one hundred and fifty thousand* divisions; and we believe he completed it. He published the fifth part of it; including all fractions from one thousandth to one hundredth of a unit. He helped himself by a theorem which, as far as we know, he must

have discovered, and which would have been gladly claimed by any writer on the theory of numbers. It is this: that, if all the fractions having a denominator less than a given one be written down in order of magnitude, each one, or an equivalent, can be formed by adding the numerators of the two adjacent for a numerator, and their denominators for a denominator. Thus, if the three following be written down,

$$\frac{38}{639} \quad \frac{27}{454} \quad \frac{43}{723}$$

it will be found that no fraction having a denominator less than 1000 can be so near to the middle one, on one side and on the other, as that on either side. And the denominators of the extremes added together, and also the numerators, give a fraction equal to the mean. But his labours did not end here. Every schoolboy knows (that is, most grown men have forgotten) that the decimal fractions answering to ordinary ones are generally, with certain exceptions, interminable in their figures, with the same periods of figures recurring again and again, *ad infinitum*. To help the reader of his first work, Mr. Goodwyn published another, showing, for every fraction with an odd denominator, not divisible by 5, and less than 1024, all the periods of figures which can possibly occur. If any reader should desire to see a number of 982 consecutive figures, which, being multiplied by any number under 982, will give a product which can be made from the multiplicand by cutting off some figures from the beginning and writing them in their order at the end, he may gratify his curiosity by consulting this work. But, perhaps, he may be satisfied by seeing the same thing on a smaller scale, and accordingly he may try whether 142857 has not this property for any multiplier under 7: as in

| | |
|--------|--------|
| 142857 | 571428 |
| 285714 | 714285 |
| 428571 | 857142 |

Such flowers as these strew the path of the *numerist* (to revive an old word) thickly enough; and to the curiosity they excite, and the peculiarity of their character, may be attributed the good reason which there has always been for the assertion of Legendre, that the theory of numbers

becomes a passion with those who give themselves at all to it.

Indeed, if we may digress still further, we may say that, of all branches of mathematics, the study of the properties of integer numbers shows in its results the most mysterious and most unaccountable things which the science affords. In the whole doctrine of continuous magnitude, the truths which are much connected in species are generally of similar demonstration, and present a chain of theorems, each of which, for the most part, becomes more likely than not, as soon as its predecessor is proved. But, in the theory of numbers, everything is reversed. The most complicated demonstrations belong to the simplest theorems: the propositions which seem most closely related, are obtained by trains of investigation the most remote from one another. The consequences which arrive casually in the course of such trains are such as the final conclusion appears to have nothing to do with; and the hypotheses on which conclusions are founded have nothing of the character of sufficient reason. In most branches of mathematics, the great thing is to know *what* is to be proved: when that is once found, hundreds can demonstrate, not one of whom could have discovered. Hence a person who announces a truth is not held to be one bit the less the originator because he does not demonstrate. But in the theory of numbers the thing is reversed. All who will closely examine, are sure to find something which will bid defiance to most attempts to demonstrate it. Fermat has left theorems which, though unquestionably true, remain unproved after the lapse of two centuries; John Wilson, a king's counsel, announced a result which Waring gave up in despair of showing it to be a necessary truth. In fact, the theory of numbers is a host of anomalies: a kaleidoscope, in which every figure is symmetrical, and it is impossible to stumble upon anything but what is beautiful: while, at the same time, the connection between each one and the next appears to be due to what, from not seeing the law, we call chance. It is no wonder, then, that this peculiar and isolated branch of inquiry should attract and isolate peculiar minds: and a person who, having a general turn for mathematical investigation, and a general intention to pursue the subject in its different parts, should beware of this particular study until he has entered largely into other branches.

To take an instance which may give the arithmetical reader a better notion of what we mean. All odd numbers can be composed of three, or fewer, *square* numbers (1, 4, 9, 16, &c.), except those which divided by 8 leave a remainder 7; and these require four: Thus, 9 is a square; 11 is 9, 1, 1; 13 is 9, 4, 1; but 15 is 9, 4, 1, 1: again, 33 is 25, 4, 4; 35 is 25, 9, 1; 37 is 36, 1; but 39 is 36, 1, 1, 1: and so on. Here is a rule with a condition of exception; but, though the truth of the exception can be demonstrated, there is nothing in the condition which seems to apply to the circumstances. In other branches of mathematics, the *proof* of a proposition has such a resemblance to the *reason why* it is true, that the two phrases have been used as synonymous: but in the case before us there is nothing of the kind.

The time may come when the light of the higher parts of mathematics will be brought to bear upon this separated subject; and, when that time does come, we venture to predict that the mere science of calculation, in its higher parts, will receive accessions of strength which will make computation a new thing. But we now proceed to the rest of our subject, namely, the consideration of mathematical tables.

The energies of the sixteenth century were turned almost entirely upon trigonometrical tables; with the help of two geniuses of the first order, the one in numerical matters alone, the other in every branch of mathematics—George Joachim of Rhétia, called Rheticus, and Francis Vieta. The lives of these two men would be a choice subject for a writer of historical parallels: except in being contemporaries and publishing trigonometrical tables, they are perfect contrasts. Vieta was a great officer of state, of most zealous orthodoxy; Rheticus was a poor teacher and (afterwards) physician, who made an early appearance in the Index as a colleague and follower of Luther, and a friend and backer of Copernicus. Of the works of Vieta, his tables were best known during his life, and the rest after his death: it was precisely the reverse with Rheticus. The former had mathematical invention of the highest order, with which he materially lightened the labour of computation: the latter made sheer hard work supply the deficiencies of the methods which he could command or discover.

We do not now pay due homage to the contempt of toil and the perseverance in monotonous exertion which dis-

tinguished the calculators of the sixteenth century. We do not even remember what their difficulties were. And there is one, the very mention of which will excite a smile; but of which we may say that, by placing a modern calculator in similar circumstances, we should nearly paralyze his energies. We refer to the dearness and scarcity of paper. Little of this precious article will serve to write down much result of thought; but what is a computer to do without a full supply?

All persons know that the price of paper has been very much reduced in the last thirty years: insomuch that many men of our day cannot refrain from what was sound economy when they were boys, but is now niggardly parsimony. For ourselves, we confess that we consecrate no new and clean sheet to memoranda or incidental calculation. And when, in conversation with friends, we desire to be furnished with "a scrap of old paper," on which to illustrate what we may be speaking of, our inmost moral sense is shocked by the profligate manner in which a large quire of thick and shining foolscap, or even of gilt-edged letter-paper, is tossed towards us, and the indifference with which our earnest remonstrances are received. All this comes of the reduction in price; and we are thereby even farther removed than our fathers were from the power of appreciating the shifts to which *their* fathers were put. We have seen the letters written to Abraham Sharp, a splendid calculator of the beginning of the last century, with every atom of blank space crowded with the smallest possible figures. The fly-leaves of old books are similarly occupied. And, though the paper of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did very well to print on, it was very indifferent for the purpose of writing, and must have required something wholly unlike our fluid ink. Thus were generated habits both of cramped and slow writing—the two of all others most unfavourable to a computer. If we look at the enormous *Opus Palatinum* of Rheticus, and consider the probable quality and quantity of the paper and ink which his means afforded, and then compare his resources in this respect with those of the commonest artisan in our day, we shall see reason to think that a good per-centage ought to be added to the merit of the work on this one account alone.

The enormous improvements introduced by the pair whom we have mentioned into the trigonometrical tables, both in

form and extent, had hardly had time to become known, when the admirable invention of logarithms turned the energies of the men of numerals in quite another direction. We have so few details on the degree of assistance in the drudgery which was at the command of Napier and Briggs, that we have much reason to regret the want of a special historical account, such as would certainly have appeared if scientific transactions had existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But we know enough of the processes to be aware that the labour was prodigious; and of the time in which it was completed to be sure that it was encountered with an energy which hardly exists among our present calculators, nursed in the lap of luxury. We are reaping the benefit of this love of labour: for, though shorter and easier methods of proceeding were invented before the close of the century, the necessity for them had almost disappeared: the tables were complete. The book of all others which is the ultimate reference in the case of a disputed figure—the book in which, though it is a large folio filled with numerals, a ducat was offered for every error which should be detected, is only Vega's edition of *Vlacq*, the spirited bookseller, himself a calculator, who completed what Briggs had undertaken, shortly after the death of the latter. Undoubtedly every figure had been examined by modern art; but this was a small labour compared with that which found the figures, and put them in their places. The work which shows energy something like that of the old times, was done by Lieut. Wolfram, of the Dutch service, and published in 1778. It has the hyperbolic logarithms of all numbers up to 22 hundred, and of all numbers not divisible by a single digit from thence to 10 thousand, each carried to 48 decimal places: and this was also reprinted by Vega.

In the tables of logarithms we see an instrument which will become of importance to persons in general when a decimal coinage is established, and not till then. Some direct attempts have been made to fit them for commercial purposes under our system as it now is; but with no success. One, of which we know, deserved a better fate than it has met with. Of all the operations of commerce, one of the most teasing, besides being what may turn up as wanted in a hurry (on foreign post-days, for instance, when a couple of hours may make the difference of a mail), is the *arbitration of exchanges*, as it is called: the determi-

nation, under existing rates of exchange, of the preference to be given to one or another out of various ways of transmitting money by aid of bills. Such questions cover the page with rule-of-three operations; and are well known to be troublesome things to deal with. In 1802, J. R. Teschemacher published in a thin quarto a collection of explained tables, by which these operations were reduced to simple additions and subtractions, with easy consultations of the work.

These tables contained the necessary *logarithms*, but the unmercantile word was not mentioned from one end of the book to the other. We have no doubt that the author would have been sneered at as a great philosopher, or something worse, if he had proposed any such thing as a logarithm to a merchant in 1802. The method, however, was very effective. Suppose a question to be as follows:—London has to remit to Paris, and the exchanges on both places with Genoa and Hamburgh are given: is it best to remit direct, or to remit through one or other of the last two places? To settle each of the places it requires two consultations of the table, two extractions of five figures, one addition of them, and one further consultation of the table. Mr. Teschemacher remarks, that foreign mails “may happen to come in exactly on the very post-day: if many calculations are to be made on that day before the time of ‘Change, it is then that this book will prove its utility.” Truly, we should have thought so; but we have no evidence that this method, or any one like it, ever attracted any great attention. Sliding rules might easily be made, which should give all necessary command over the most complicated arbitrations, were the circuits to be tried through all the varieties of half-a-dozen different channels.

There must be some particular and good reason why improvements in calculation are thus repulsed: and we once heard one of which we see the force. On mentioning to a merchant, who, for more reasons than one, was able to estimate the value of knowledge, and was and is a zealous promoter of it, an instrumental check on certain office calculations which bid fair to be effective, his reply was;—*The sort of labour which it will save is very cheap.* This being the case, we must look for a much increased demand for the lower grades of mental activity, before the spur of necessity applied to the mercantile system will demand

and obtain attention to the improvement of its calculating processes and machinery. The railroads will continue to call off large numbers of young men who would otherwise have been employed in counting-houses, and still more if, as we hope will be the case, public attention should discover that, under a sufficient amount of proper direction, there *need be no accidents*. And here we are reminded that we have got from Napier and Briggs to collisions of railway trains without any abrupt transition; and that there is no saying where we may come at last if we do not return to our subject at once.

The invention of logarithms reduced some of the ordinary operations of arithmetic, in mathematics and its applications, to comparative inutility; in fact, almost placed them on the retired list. This was not a discovery which had to work its way through either neglect or opposition. Ten editions of John Speidell's book of tables, besides pirated reprints, found their way through the press in sixteen years from the time of the announcement, in England alone: independently of what was done by Napier himself, Briggs, and Gunter. Similar encouragement was shown abroad. Throughout every part of the world of calculation except the commercial, the use of logarithms was firmly established in less than thirty years. And it is to be noted that the early calculators were not content with providing only the number of figures which would be held sufficient for ordinary purposes. They presumed that the wants of the arithmetician must be provided for upon a scale of the utmost liberality; and they found him ten places of figures, giving the option, in all questions, of such correctness as is implied in saying that the error need not be more than about one farthing in a million of pounds, or less than a pound on the national debt. Perhaps they overloaded him at first; but Gunter, and those who wrote for ordinary purposes, soon brought the tables down to the seven figures which have ever since been most common. And here it may be remarked, that the practice of putting seven-figure or six-figure tables into the hands of beginners, has always been one of the great stumbling-blocks. The tables are made large dictionaries, and time is wasted in turning over leaves which might be better employed than in conveying the impression that the subject is very repulsive. A card of four-figure logarithms, such as is

now to be easily had, is the best preparation for more extensive tables.

Looking at the progress of logarithms, we have a question to ask which, we will answer for it, has seldom been asked before, and never in print: no great warrant, the reader will say, for its wisdom. Never mind; let it be considered on its own merits. How much of the ready reception of Napier's discovery was due to the tables of *logarithms*, and how much to its giving *tables*? We will now explain what we mean.

The calculators of the sixteenth century, as we have stated, turned all their attention to trigonometrical tables, the primary importance of which well warranted their devotion. When the logarithms appeared, there were hardly any of those extensive tables of pure arithmetic which have since appeared, and those only recent. Maginus had published the first ten thousand squares in 1592, and Herwart had published the products of numbers up to 1000 times 1000 in 1610, when Napier was actually engaged on his invention. These could have been but little known, and hardly old enough to have had a fair trial. Now, suppose that, at the time of the invention of logarithms, the calculating world had been in full possession and well established use of Herwart's table or Crelle's convenient form of it, of Ludolf's squares up to that of a hundred thousand, of Buchner's cubes up to that of 10,000, of Barlow's fourth and fifth powers up to 1000, and reciprocals up to 10,000, of Chernac's and Buckhardt's divisions, of all the simplifications of trigonometrical theorems and the use of subsidiary angles, and of the methods of the calculus of differences. Each and every one of these things might easily have preceded logarithms. It would then have been difficult to introduce the last-named discovery in one generation: the old stagers would assuredly not have seen any reason to change their methods, and the younger men would soon have learnt that the new discovery must be introduced with discretion, and that large classes of operations would be little the better for it. Now, it is quite the reverse: the tables of logarithms have got such possession of the field that very important tables of other kinds, Barlow's for instance, are little appreciated; and many persons toil at the logarithms to produce results which are ready tabulated for them, or for which at least greater facilitations are provided. A man who was better acquainted with tables

and their history than most of his day, and who was a most accomplished astronomical computer, the late Professor Henderson of Edinburgh, used to say that he found Crelle's multiplication table more useful to him than a table of logarithms. Other kinds of tables have not, in fact, had fair play: the mathematical world has refused every thing except either unassisted calculation or logarithms; to their loss, we believe.

There is only one table which, when wanted at all, is a matter of most absolute necessity, and cannot be replaced by any amount of labour which the most intrepid calculator would think of giving. In our time, even if the trigonometrical tables were all burnt, there is nothing in the calculation of a sine or co-sine which would give more than a morning's work, even though nothing but pen, ink, and paper were supplied. But to determine whether a large number is or is not a prime number, would be the question of a week or a fortnight to the unassisted computer. There are no mathematical laws to aid him, except one, of which it may amuse the novice to hear. Suppose we want to know whether 4764821 has or has not any divisors which divide it without remainder, and that the question is to be solved by a direct and unerring process, without trial. The whole range of mathematical discovery gives but this one test;—Multiply together all the numbers 1, 2, 3..... up to 4764820, one less than the proposed number, add one to the product, and divide by 4764821. Then if there be no remainder to *that* division, the proposed number has no divisors, or is prime; if there be a remainder, it is not prime. This product would contain somewhere about 30 millions of figures; and of course it would be easier to try every divisor up to 2182, which would be enough, and which, at a minute to each trial, would take 36 hours odd. The existing tables save this trouble for all numbers up to three millions, and it is most fortunate that the question is not one which need often be tried.

The correctness of tables is of course a matter of the utmost importance. The invention of stereotype has much improved us in this respect. In the first place, there is a guarantee that figures shall not be changed while the work is at press. It often happens that some slight disarrangement of type takes place in printing: and the pressmen, instead of calling in a qualified person to replace them, frequently try their own hands, and, as may be expected,

are not always successful. This practice is, of course, forbidden: but laws are not effective to prevent every misdemeanour. When the ink was laid on by *balls*, it was not uncommon for the balls to draw out a type adhering to their moist surfaces. But since the roller has been used for the same purpose, there is less of this danger. Still, except from a stereotyped plate, it is impossible to reckon with the utmost certainty upon the last sheet printed off being a perfect transcript of the first. So well was this known, that, before the Nautical Almanac was stereotyped, it was the practice to read with care the first, the middle, and the last copy of each sheet, after they came from the press, before making up the table of errata. On the utility of stereotyping for preserving the work, without the chance of error arising from new composition, it is unnecessary to speak.

The older tables, though containing many inaccuracies, were nevertheless, all things considered, correct enough. As in many other things, so in numerical printing, a great demand for correctness has arisen in the present century. Of all books, mathematical tables are those in which the printer is of as much consequence as the author. A wrong figure is of as great detriment to the work when it arises in the press, as when it is the calculator's fault. Of many mistakes this cannot be said; for when the error is casual and single, the context may be made to correct it. This is even the case in tables, so far as the leading figures are concerned: but the smaller ones (in value) cannot be guessed from those which surround them, without as much trouble as was required for their formation. So that there are these two paradoxes: a bad printer is the same thing as a bad author—and the less consequence a figure is of, the more essential is it that it should be correct.

A little after the beginning of the last century, the disadvantages of moveable types were seen by several publishers of tables; and they adopted a stereotype of their own—namely, the use of copperplate engraving. Several works of this kind exist, in which the whole is from copper. They are principally of the mercantile character; which is the more surprising, when we consider that faith in print has always been the characteristic of the man of business, so far as figures are concerned. A table of interest, or of conversion of one coin into another, advertised by its author as of surpassing correctness, is always taken on his

word: while no mathematician will receive a new book of the kind without examination.

Calculation is one of the things of which it is uniformly observed that those who are no adepts in it desire that their children should be better off than themselves. The want of it, where it exists, always makes itself felt: while there are many branches of knowledge which are very honestly believed to be useless by those who are without them. Again, the desire to possess the advantage of a coinage which shall facilitate computation in money, that is, a decimal coinage, is, we are well assured, gradually arising among men of business. It has advocates in the public press, and of opposition there is yet none. To this change we look forward as to one of the greatest benefits which can be conferred, both on education and on the routine of the business of life.

ART. V.—*A Catholic History of England.* By WILLIAM BERNARD McCABE. Part I. England; Its Rulers, Clergy, and Poor, before the Reformation, as described by the Monkish Historians. London: Newby, 1847.

IF any of our literary friends had consulted us on the selection of a subject on which he might venture to write with any prospect of success, "A History of England" would have been the very last which would have occurred to us. The title had long ceased to convey any definite information to our mind—we looked upon it as composed of cabalistic letters, which might signify a thing filled with paper and print, or with dice and tables—nor, taught by sad experience, do we now ever dare to touch any tome endorsed with that awful name, lest what appeared to be a book should turn out a backgammon box. We do not blame the toy-shops for their application of the term—on the contrary, we think that the selection proves them to be philosophers—and if we might venture an opinion, founded on a tolerably good knowledge of both its applications, we would give it as our decided opinion that there is a great deal more "gammon" in the book than in the box,

each of which is proclaimed by the golden characters on its back to have equal claims to the appellation of "History of England." Amidst the mass of rubbish, however, which had been conveyed to the public under this title, there was already one history which, for the depth of its research, and the stern fidelity of its narrative, has never been surpassed in any country. We of course allude to the History of the Rev. Dr. Lingard. It was written, for the most part, at a time when the foulest abuse of Catholicity was the only medium through which all sorts of literature could be circulated in England. It was a great, an arduous, and a noble task, in the face of such obstacles, to write a history which must trust for its success to the triumph of truth and justice over falsehood and calumny, backed and strengthened by the most inveterate prejudices. Violent was the opposition which was raised against it in all quarters—it was assailed with all sorts of attacks; but, like an impregnable fortress, it defied them all, and is now confessedly the most truthful and the best "History of England." There are persons who say that the author has not been bold enough, that he has been over cautious in stating facts and in drawing conclusions; but they forget that, at the time he wrote, this was absolutely necessary, that the least appearance of over zeal would have been fatal to the object he had in view, and that it is only by standing on the pedestal which he has raised others are now able to look down upon, and to despise, the narrow prejudices and the angry passions of the multitude. Mr. McCabe's book, though the contribution of a friend in the same cause, yet, as it contains the original sources from which Lingard must have drawn his materials, necessarily subjects his History to a very severe ordeal, through which, as through all others, it has passed unscathed; and the comparison of his text with his authorities must increase our admiration for his boundless research, and our belief in his unimpeachable honesty. It certainly required no small courage to pass over the same ground which had been so recently occupied by so great and dangerous a rival.

Mr. McCabe could not even hope to add anything new to English history by the graces of style and the beauties of composition, for if Hume's narrative be as unreal, it is also as enchanting, as any tale of fiction. He neither took the trouble of consulting the original authorities, nor did

he even adhere to as much of them as he acquired at second-hand; but his style is everywhere pure, his narrative bewitching, and his delineation of the Puritans, in his history of Charles the First and of the Commonwealth, is not surpassed even by the matchless portraiture of the Covenanters in "*Old Mortality*." Mr. McCabe could, therefore, neither expect to put forward new facts, nor to invest the subject with new charms; and without doing one or other of these, we should have imagined that he could have scarcely hoped that his book would be successful. Yet it has been received with great favour, and we think most deservedly; for, strange as it may appear, it is not only a rich and a useful, but may be said to be an original contribution to English history.

He has introduced an original element into the very title: for he does not call his book "*McCabe's*," but "*A Catholic History of England*." The designation is not more novel than it is true; for his History is Catholic in every sense of the term: It is Catholic in spirit, language, and sentiment; and we cannot too much admire the bold, manly, uncompromising, and, at the same time, the perfectly honest and straightforward manner in which it is written. The author seems thoroughly to appreciate the majesty and beauty of truth, to believe unhesitatingly in its greatness, and to be determined to tell it without fear, favour, or affection. We fully agree with the author in these sentiments; our faith in truth is most firm—our hatred of all duplicity, meanness, and equivocation unbounded. It is therefore we are glad to see those ages (as they are called) of monkish ignorance and superstition exhibited to the world in the language of the monks who wrote in them; and we shall be grievously disappointed if any one shall rise from the perusal of this book without feeling his heart improved, and his love of his fellow men increased, by the simplicity, piety, and charity of those who wrote the chronicles of their times in the seclusion of the cloister. If a comparison should be instituted between these ancient annalists and our more recent historical writers, we are certain that every generous mind, that every sincere Christian must unhesitatingly and immeasurably prefer the former; for whilst the moderns give us only the history of the rich, the monkish historians were most anxious to give the history of the poor, and to impress upon the rich and

upon the rulers of the state the necessity of supporting them:

"An examination," says Mr. McCabe, (Introduction p. 13,) "into these annals will also serve to show, that Catholic lay and priestly law-makers, thought much of what Anti-Catholic historians and law-makers think little, viz. the great mass of the people—of the poor. A leading feature of this work will be *a history of the poor*—the essential element of society. Too long has the custom prevailed, of marking only the movements of the few and gaudy figures that float upon the surface, whilst the particles of the mighty mass by which they are upborne, have remained unexamined, unanalyzed, and unknown. And yet a study of the history of the poor, is beyond all others that which is most worthy of the philosopher and the statesman; of the philosopher who desires to improve, and of the statesman who wishes to secure the happiness of his fellow citizens. Most of our historians forget this, they write 'Court-circulars,' and tell us of the achievements of the titled and the rich; but there is little to be found in them, as such records which 'an Andover Inquiry,' the proceedings in our Courts, Civil, Criminal, and Police supply us, and from which alone we can obtain an accurate insight into the state of the country and the condition of the poor. This great defect I shall endeavour to supply."

A noble task is here imposed upon himself by the author, which he has as nobly fulfilled. The "history of the poor"—the liberality of kings and princes towards them, produced by the pleadings of holy priests and bishops, and the personal sacrifices of the latter in the same heavenly cause, form a prominent portion of this volume. It is melancholy to reflect that the people of Ireland—a country whose children (such as Columbkil, Columba, Aidan, and others) were the apostles of religion, of learning, and of benevolence in England during the sixth and seventh centuries—should now be dying by the thousand of starvation. St. Aidan, an Irish priest, passed over to England in the seventh century, and spent his whole life in providing for the poor; and he commenced the great and glorious work of abolishing slavery, by spending the money which was bestowed upon him by the rich in feeding the poor, and in purchasing the freedom of slaves, *many of whom he elevated to the rank of the priesthood.* This wise and magnanimous proceeding at once removed the stigma from the slave class; it enlisted the Church in the cause of its emancipation, which, following in the steps

of the illustrious Irish saint, did not relax in its benevolent exertions until there was not left a slave in England.

"To all clergymen, Aidan" (says our author p. 276, and following,) "recommended chastity by the example of his own purity; in all laymen, he inspired a respect for the doctrines he taught, because he lived as he advised them to pass their lives. In all his actions he demonstrated that he neither loved nor cared for the things of this world. The riches that he received from the kings and the great, he instantly bestowed with joy upon the poor and the distressed. In the street or in the road he was always to be seen humbly walking, and never did he, except in cases of urgent necessity, travel on horseback; but whithersoever he went, and whosoever he met, be they rich or be they poor, he spoke to them; if they were infidels, to invite them to accept of Christ; if they were Christians, to strengthen them in their faith, to encourage them to give alms, and to prove the truth of their religion by their words and good works. His mode of life was very different from the tepidity of the present times; for all who accompanied him, whether they were priests or laymen, passed their time in religious meditation—that is, in reading the Scriptures or in learning psalms.* When visited by the powerful, he tendered to them no pecuniary gift; if they claimed his hospitality, he supplied them with food; and if on the contrary he received money, presents from the rich, it was for the purpose of bestowing them on the needy, or of dispensing them in the ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN UNJUSTLY SOLD AS SLAVES. *Many of those whom he made free by purchase, he afterwards enrolled amongst his disciples, and when fully instructed and properly prepared, HE ELEVATED THEM TO THE RANK OF THE PRIESTHOOD.*"

We should perhaps observe here, that in Mr. McCabe's book the usual order of an author's writing the text, and placing his authorities in the notes, is here inverted: for the text is made up almost entirely of the ancient writers, whilst the author hardly ever appears but in the notes. This shall presently be explained more fully. We only state the matter here, in order to introduce the

* "The Saxon homilies exhort the people with great earnestness to the frequent perusal of the Scriptures, and enforce the advice from the great benefit of that exercise.....That as a blind man often stumbles in his motion, so those who are unacquainted with the word of God, are apt to make false steps and miscarry." Note by the author. Abundant evidence of the same fact appears every where in this volume.

author's own just observations on the passage which we have just quoted.

"In this proceeding of the Irish Catholic priest," he says, (note p. 279,) "in this redemption by him of Englishmen sold to slavery, we discern the first struggle of the Catholic Church in this country, to break through a system that centuries had consecrated, and that all ages had sanctioned, and all nations practised. Aidan has been praised for his prudence and moderation, and in these transactions we find how well entitled he was to the eulogium pronounced upon him. He dared not attack slavery openly. If he did, his fate would have been that of Corman, and none would have listened to him. The rude Saxon would have clung to his idolatry rather than embrace Christianity, which would have brought with it the destruction of his property in his fellow man. Aidan selected for enfranchisement, cases in which even slave-holders must have sympathized with him; namely, persons who had been unjustly deprived of their liberty, men probably unduly convicted of crime, or who under the pretence of being debtors, had been reduced from a state of freedom to a state of slavery, for in England slavery was then a legal punishment. Aidan in attacking slavery, imitated the prudence of St. Gregory the Great, who commenced his assault upon the system, by redeeming from bondage the Christian slaves of Jews, by protecting Jewish slaves who became Christians, or slaves, persecuted by their Jew task-masters. St. Gregory thus enlisted the popular feeling in favour of enfranchisement, by exhibiting slavery in its most odious form."

England has returned the compliment by sending missionaries to Ireland, but, alas! how different has been their object; they came not to enfranchise, but to enslave—not to feed the poor, but to live upon their spoils.

Mr. McCabe deals with the present as well as with the past—with the latter in the text, with the former in the notes. An anecdote concerning the same illustrious saint, Aidan, affords the author an opportunity of contrasting the Catholic charity of the seventh century with the Anticatholic legislation, for the poor, of the nineteenth.

"The Bishop Aidan," he says, (p. 311.) "who was in the habit of making his episcopal journeys on foot, had on a certain occasion been presented by King Oswin with one of his finest steeds, to be used by him either in crossing the rapid and dangerous streams of the country, or in expediting him on his road in cases of pressing necessity. A short time after he had received this noble gift, the bishop was riding along the highway, when a poor man begged some alms from him. The bishop instantly dismounted, and gave the horse all royally caparisoned as it was to the humble beggar,

for he was exceedingly charitable, a lover of the poor, and it might be even said a father to those in need. This fact was related to the king as they were both proceeding to dinner. 'How could you,' said Oswin, 'think of bestowing on a beggar a horse intended for your own use and taken from the royal stable? Are there not enough of horses less in value suited to the poor if you will make such presents, which you might have given away and not that one, which I had especially selected for yourself?'

" 'What say you my sovereign,' replied the bishop, 'can it be that the offspring of a mare is more dear to you than the son of God?' With these words both proceeded to dinner. Whilst the bishop was seated, the king who had just come from hunting, stood at the fire warming himself. As he stood thus, the words of the bishop suddenly occurred to him; he ungirded his sword, delivered it to one of his attendants, and then hastening to the bishop, threw himself at his feet and begged the prelate to pardon him, 'for from this time forth,' said Oswin, 'I will never allude to this subject, and will never attempt to pronounce an opinion, either as to what you may give, or how much of my money you may choose to bestow upon the sons of God.' 'The sons of God,' exclaims our author, (p. 313.) "such is the endearing and respectful name bestowed upon the poor, the needy, and the helpless, by a Catholic king when addressing a Catholic bishop. To the Church as the almoner of the poor, the chief magistrate of the nation, yields at the same time unlimited power over his wealth for the benefit of those who are in want. How different from this is the spirit that dictated the enactment of the New Poor Law, recommended as it was to Parliament by the 'reformed' Anti-Catholic Bishop of London, and supported by the votes of the two great Anti-Catholic parties in the state! Compare the interview between the bishop St. Aidan with the king St. Oswin respecting the English poor, with the following remarks on the New Poor Law, the statute of Anti-Catholic legislators. 'We have for some years rejected one-half our duty, our duty towards our neighbour. By the New Poor Law charity is totally excluded. It is a law not for relieving the poor, but for deterring the poor from asking relief. The ingenuity of its authors has been unremittingly and almost successfully exerted in discovering an alternative worse than starvation. To compel a perishing neighbour to expire at his own expense and odium in the midst of your abundance, was a problem worthy of a devil. And it has certainly been solved.' To those who have solved the problem worthy of a devil, may indeed be addressed the words of Aidan, is the son of a mare dearer to you than a son of God?"

If the indignation of Mr. McCabe and the *Times*, which he quotes, be so great against the Anti-catholic New Poor Law, what must be thought of persons calling themselves the "Irish Party," who pretend to represent the wants and

wishes of Catholic Ireland, and who dare to oppose a permanent enactment for giving as much food as will keep them alive to the young, the aged, and infirm, as well as to the able-bodied Irish poor, even when they cannot or will not be accommodated within the miserable walls of an Irish workhouse. To be poor, these gentry declare to be worse than to be a felon, for the county must accommodate and support its felons; but when the Poor Law Union gaol is full, the young, the old, the infirm, or, at all events, the able-bodied, must die of hunger. Mr. McCabe, in another note on the passage which we have quoted concerning Bishop Aidan and King Oswin, says that the freedom with which Aidan rebuked the proud and the powerful, and the compassion which made him console the weak, and support and *protect* the poor, was the character by anticipation of the fellow countrymen of Aidan, clothed with the character of the priesthood, or bearing like him the mitre." We know that this is perfectly true; and we hope that the present awful calamity, and their almost super-human labours, will not induce them to allow this selfish party of Irish landlords to impose upon the ministry, or the parliament, or the people of England, by representing themselves as the exponents of the priesthood and the people of a nation, whose children have carried Christianity and charity all over the world.

Oh, but this party consists of Irishmen. Why as soon as the extent of the present terrible calamity became known, a set of Protestant saints set about raising a fund to buy food for the starving Catholics of Ireland, which they should only get to eat on the condition of their swallowing Lutheranism or Calvinism along with it. Where did this diabolical design originate, which has been denounced by Protestant legislators and Protestant parsons, and by the benevolent Wesleyan Methodists, (in a letter dated 26th of February, enclosing £5,000. to the London Relief Committee,) as "an unworthy intrusion of sectarian partialities and antipathies?" The *Dublin Evening Post*, which along with the *London Tablet* and the *Weekly Register*, has bravely stood forward for the poor, and exposed the base selfishness of this "Irish Party," says, and we have no doubt of the fact, that it originated in Ireland and with Irishmen. Here is another fact. Mr. Watson, a Protestant lawyer of great and deserved eminence, brought in only a short time ago a bill for repealing penal

statutes against Catholics, most of which are so cruel and absurd as to be totally obsolete. What was the conduct of the "Irish Party" on this occasion? Surely none of its members could have the face to refuse liberty of conscience to the great majority of their fellow-countrymen? They could not oppose a measure which had the united support of the leaders of all parties—of Russell, Peel and Bentinck? Yes, they did oppose it in great numbers. We find in the minority, the Hamiltons, the Grogans, the Verners, the Lefroys, and other leading members of the "Irish Party," whilst Mr. Shaw spoke against the measure, and was worthily associated with Sir Robert Inglis as teller for the bigots on the occasion. We have no sympathy with an Irishman who when his starving countrymen ask for bread gives them penal laws. There are no doubt some excellent men in the "Irish Party," men who are actuated by the most pure and upright intentions, and whose hearts are filled with charity for their countrymen; but, as a body, we look upon them as the enemies of the poor, and we believe, nay, we are certain, that they are actuated by purely selfish motives. They see that the people and parliament of England are determined to pass a law for the support of all the destitute poor, whether they can get into the workhouse or not—they see that nothing can prevent it from being enacted unless they can represent the entire Irish nation as opposed to it, and they hope by affecting great feelings of nationality to keep the people and the priests silent until the present crisis is past, and then they will cry to perdition with the Irish Party. It is strange, that untaught by long and dreadful experience, some liberal Irish newspapers and liberal Irish members, who really have the good of the country at heart, have allowed themselves to be caught in the snare which was set for them, and that it has become the rage to defend every thing Irish, good, bad, and indifferent. We know that wanton, false, and mischievous attacks have been made on the Irish people, but this is no reason why all the landlords should be defended, or why it should be suddenly forgotten that the great majority of them have been for centuries worse than slave drivers in Ireland, and that the present awful calamity, which it is to be feared will, before it ends, have carried off by hunger more than a million of the inhabitants of one of the most fertile islands in the world, is directly traceable to their tyranny. The Rev.

Dr. Collins of Cloyne, has fully proved this in his address to Lord John Russell, in which he states that the present, though greater in extent, was no new calamity—that in the fated locality of Skibbereen the Relief Committee had in 1822, *nine thousand persons on their poor list out of a population of eleven thousand*, and that the reason was because the landlords took every thing except the potato, and when this either failed or “run out,” the people must necessarily starve. It would be out of place to enter into details here, but we fearlessly assert that every Catholic and Protestant resident clergyman in Ireland—that the whole people, high and low, know that the landlords have been the worst enemies of that country. We do not include all the landlords, for there are not a few bright exceptions; but we do accuse the great majority, and we care not whether they belong to the “Irish Party” or to any other party, with being the hereditary oppressors of the people. It is sedulously propagated in England, that the Irish people would not tolerate any change in the proprietors of land. Good Heavens! can any true Irishman, can any real friends of the poor, countenance such a delusion? What the Irish people want are good landlords, who will protect their tenantry and support the poor, and Dr. Collins spoke the sentiments of every Catholic in Ireland, when he assured the Prime Minister that, provided they did this, the people did not care who they were. We always thought that one of the greatest complaints against Imperial legislation was that it was in favour of the rich and against the poor—that it was in favour of the few against the many—that in a word, it was in favour of the landlords and against the people. But if anything were necessary to show the cloven foot of the landlords who are so anxious for Irish interests, it would be their opposition to a permanent provision for the able-bodied poor who cannot be accommodated within the miserable walls of the Union Workhouse. As the potato blight will probably be permanent, or at all events will continue for several years, the present distress will not pass away with this season; and consequently, in their zeal for everything Irish, this benevolent party, by refusing permanent out-door relief, would sentence to death by starvation each year all the able-bodied poor who could not be accommodated in the workhouse. There never was a worse ukase issued by the tyrant of Russia: Let us not be mistaken: nothing could give us such sin-

cerè delight as a cordial union among Irishmen, no matter how widely they may differ in politics and in *religious belief*. But we do most strongly deprecate a combination which takes care of the interests of the rich at the expense of the poor; and one section of whose members are the active enemies of the religious and civil liberties of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. We warn the Irish landlords that the Irish people will not be caught by the mere clap-trap of the name "Irish party," unless they prove by their deeds that they are not associated for selfish purposes, but for the interests of the country and especially of the poor. The Rev. Dr. Collins and the Rev. Mr. M'Carthy are, whilst we write, preaching this from door to door in London; and we call upon every benevolent man, and especially upon every Catholic priest in Ireland, to join them in demanding a permanent provision for the poor, so that they may never again be obliged to behold their people dying of hunger in the midst of plenty. Because a landlord is embarrassed, are the poor to starve? The legislature cannot, and, if the Irish people speak out, will not, prop up the present rotten landlordism in Ireland. The pauper proprietor must be allowed to sell his estate and pay his debts, instead of living like a vampire upon the blood of the people. We ask the clergy, as one man, to demand a poor law which will give food to all those, whether able-bodied or infirm, who have none of their own, so that they may not be left at the mercy of the landlords. Their conduct as a body (still excepting many individuals) during the present terrible crisis, shows how little reliance is to be placed on their *voluntary* benevolence. The truth is, that almost the entire of the Irish voluntary contributions for relieving the destitute, have been derived from those who are themselves removed but one degree from destitution. If any one doubts this, let him read the accounts of the conduct of Irish landlords, which have been published by gentlemen who reside upon the spot, and which have never been contradicted. We shall select two as a specimen, and we insert the latter of the two, because it contains an account of that "*rara avis*," a really generous and noble Irish landlord.

The Rev. James Delany, P. P. Ballinakille, Queen's County, writes, late in February, that whilst to relieve the destitution in his parish the government has subscribed £110, the Dublin Central Relief Committee £30, and

the poor farmers of the district £90, the owners in fee of 3,115 acres, producing a rental of at least £4,500 per annum, have not subscribed one farthing! The other case refers to the district of Upper Leyney, in the county of Sligo, which contains 97,000 acres and 30,000 inhabitants, of whom two-thirds at least are in a state of destitution, and when the Relief Committee, of which the Dean of Achonry is chairman, were spending £90 weekly in March to keep some of the poor alive by giving them soup and meal, proprietors of from £3,000 to £8,000 *per annum have not contributed a shilling.* *The largest proprietor in the district (an absentee) contributed within the year one farthing in the pound of his rental within the district; whereas the smallest proprietor resident within the county contributed fifteen shillings in the pound.* We have taken both these cases from a single number of the *Evening Post*, and, if we thought it necessary, we might multiply instances of the same kind almost indefinitely. Every man of common sense must know that nothing but a *compulsory* rate will make the Irish landlords contribute their fair proportion towards the support of the poor. This will really be a great relief, not only to the benevolent landlords, but even to the small farmers, who divide the little they have with their starving neighbours; for the burthen of supporting the indigent will be lighter upon both when the hardhearted shall have to bear their share of it. It will, moreover, make it the interest of the landlord to allow his tenantry to live on their farms, because, if he turns them out, he will be obliged to support them. There are, besides, very obvious means by which the amount of the poor-rate upon land may be lessened. To impose any part of it on the mortgagees would probably only induce them to foreclose; and, besides, the bill before parliament to enable landlords to sell part of their property and clear off their encumbrances, will prevent them from being charged with an amount of acreage which does not fairly represent their income. But an absentee tax should be imposed upon all those who do not spend enough of their time in Ireland to discharge the duties of resident landlords; and that monster exotic, the Protestant Church, should be uprooted, or if that cannot be done immediately, (although we do not see why,) at least reduced to reasonable dimensions. And after providing for existing interests, the surplus should at once be appropriated to the support of the

poor. The landlords of Ireland, in addition to their other delinquencies, are the supporters of this "Great Bel," which swallows up the food of so many men, women, and children. They are striving at present by a feint to strike the people of Ireland with blindness, that they may not be able to see the straight path before them, when the people of England are taught by the disbursement of ten millions to insist that the landlords shall do their duty—that they shall at last cease to oppress the middle classes, and that they shall support the poor. We do think that John Bull will at length open his eyes to the monstrous grievance of the Irish Church; aye, and that the Irish landlords also will do the same, if we do not allow ourselves to be made the miserable dupes of those who have persecuted the country for centuries. The landlords should also be obliged to restore the twenty-five per cent. which they receive out of the produce of the tithes. It was the patrimony of the poor and ought to belong to them. This money was given for Catholic charitable purposes, and we have no doubt that the people of Ireland have it now in their power to get it back to the pious and necessary use of feeding the poor. At the root of all the social and physical grievances of Ireland, will be found this monster evil of the Irish Church, the want of a proper provision for the poor, and the tyranny of Irish landlords. We tell the people of England that until these radical diseases are cured, there never can be peace, comfort, or prosperity in Ireland; and we tell the people of Ireland that if they allow themselves to be imposed on by the craft of landlords, and let the present opportunity slip, they will answer before God for a grievous dereliction of duty. We are the last persons in the world who would wish the slightest evil to befall a good landlord, but we consider the disappearance of a bad one as a great blessing to the people. We say with extreme grief and most reluctantly, that we have no hopes of the great mass of the present proprietors. One of their number, a peer of the realm, stated lately, that out of a rental of fourteen millions no more than three millions was received by the nominal owners of land in Ireland. Such persons cannot afford to be even tolerable landlords. They cannot be merciful, considerate, charitable, or just, and such a proprietary must be a curse to any country. In the name of Heaven, let us have a solvent proprietary, who can pay their debts, be indulgent to their tenantry, and charitable to the poor. But besides,

the present landlords have been brought up in principles of exclusiveness, which we believe they can never shake off; and if they cannot or do not, they are unfit for their position. Our fears of their incapacity to improve are founded among other things upon their votes upon Mr. Watson's Bill, where they proved that even in their present critical position they could not be induced to extend political toleration to the great majority of their countrymen. They will also oppose Sharman Crawford's Bill for extending to other parts of Ireland the tenant right of Ulster, and therefore we are not for Irish landlords, but for Ireland, the Irish people, and the Irish poor.

There is another sense in which Mr. McCabe's book is Catholic, because it has not been composed like ordinary histories, from the writings of others, but is a kind of literary mosaic, entirely made up of the original authors, so combined as to form a most interesting, beautiful, and consecutive narrative. In the text there is nothing of Mr. McCabe's except an occasional line to connect the different passages. The plan of this book is entirely new—it is a complete novelty in historical literature. Formerly we were obliged to receive the narrative on the faith of the quotations at the foot of the page, interspersed occasionally with a few garbled extracts. But here we are in no danger of mistaking the mere speculations or conclusions of the author for facts, for the original itself is laid faithfully before us. Mr. McCabe is a mere interpreter and arranger, and he manages both so artfully as scarcely ever to appear at all, or to break the thread of the narrative by his own impertinent intrusions. We are, in fact, carried back to the times of Gildas, Bede, William of Malmsbury, and the other ancient writers, who speak not by others but by themselves in this history; we live with them for the time being, and seem to hear their plain but life-like narrative from their own simple lips. To spend an hour thus with those who converse with us through the dimness of distant ages, to learn their feelings, their pursuits, and their mode of thought, was hitherto a luxury reserved for those who had sufficient leisure and acquirements to search through the musty tomes of a library, and to lift the veil of a strange language; but the "*Catholic History of England*," has placed it within the reach of every reader. This must have cost the author infinite labour—far beyond what the generality of readers

can imagine. The mere selection and arrangement of these passages, the weaving of one within another so as to form a consecutive narrative out of such heterogeneous elements, must have been a task of great difficulty. Some persons may imagine that the translation was an easy matter to a scholar; and indeed the mere trouble of taking a book out of one language and putting it into another, cannot be very great to one who is thoroughly acquainted with both. But to translate not only the words but the spirit—to avoid at once servility and faithlessness, to write the book as the author would have written it himself in our language, is an achievement which very few have been able to accomplish. Let any one who distrusts our testimony, compare Mr. McCabe's translations with the originals, and he will find that they possess all these excellencies in a degree rarely equalled and never surpassed. The style is simple, chaste, and beautiful; the narrative easy and flowing, whilst at the same time it reflects most felicitously the mind and the language of the author as well as the times and circumstances in which he wrote.

Mr. McCabe has not been satisfied with faithfully rendering his authorities into English, and uniting them together so as to form a continuous and highly interesting narrative, for his page is often half made up of notes, which are generally appropriate and useful and sometimes rare and curious. He sometimes however draws largely on books which are in the hands of every Catholic, such, as for instance, "*Butler's Lives of the Saints*," but we presume this is meant chiefly for Protestants, who may here find some of that rare and valuable information which they have never seen because they would consider it profanation to look for it in the history of a Catholic Saint. Yet we know no single book in any language whose notes contain such a rich mine of information as "*Butler's Lives of the Saints*." The author is thoroughly honest, his learning was great, his judgment most acute, and if his style be simple and homely, it is also very perspicuous. No Catholic family should be without this work, and we hope that Mr. McCabe's book will be the means of introducing it more extensively to the knowledge of Protestants. Though many of Mr. McCabe's notes must necessarily, when we consider the subject, be taken from books which most literary persons have read, there are a great many derived from sources which are not generally accessible;

and they display on the whole a course of the most extensive reading, and an intimate acquaintance with both ancient and modern literature. We might have been inclined to complain that they are too numerous, and that they distract our attention too much from the narrative, if we did not believe that the total exclusion of the author from the text fully entitled him to take refuge in the notes.

We are not called upon to give any opinion on the comparative merits of this and the other countless histories of England which have been written; for in truth the book before us is so entirely novel in its design, it is so totally unlike every thing which has been heretofore written upon the subject, that it cannot possibly be compared with them. We are not prepared to say that Mr. McCabe's is the best plan for writing history. On the contrary, although it must always be the most satisfactory, it is but seldom and under a rare combination of favourable circumstances, that an author can follow it with any reasonable hope of success. Whilst the middle ages were misunderstood and misrepresented by Hume, Henry, Robertson, and a host of other writers, the public would have looked with as little favour on the translation of a book written in those times, as upon the ghost of the author if it had come back from the world of spirits. A few intrepid inquirers, like courageous boys at night, opened their eyes, strove to penetrate the darkness, and saw no ghosts. By degrees they grew more venturesome, they penetrated the most obscure and unfrequented recesses, which they were assured were filled with the most hideous goblins, and to their astonishment they did not find even "raw head and bloody bones." On the contrary they discovered that their ancestors were for the most part fine old christians, who, albeit no "Biblicals," knew the letter of the Bible as well, and its spirit a great deal better, than our modern saints; who went to Mass on Sundays and often during the week, partook often of the precious Body of our Lord, said their prayers, believed in God, and fed the poor. The public said, "Well, after all, these old monks were not such monsters as we thought them." I should like to be more intimately acquainted with them." And the more it knew them it liked them the better. Hence literary companies were formed to work the neglected but rich mine, which had been discovered in the middle ages, and the labour has been everywhere crowned with success. These are the circumstances which

justified Mr. McCabe in calculating on the success of his present erudite and useful volume; and sincerely do we trust that the reception which it has met with will encourage him to continue his labours to their completion.

The present volume contains 749 pages, and stops somewhat short of the middle of the ninth century. The same period occupies no more than 144 pages of the new edition of Lingard which has been published in thirteen volumes. Judging from this, Mr. McCabe's history would be very voluminous by the time it would reach the Reformation, to which he proposes to continue it.* The publication, however, in separate volumes, and, we should suppose, at considerable intervals, diminishes, if it does not entirely remove, this objection. And for our own parts, if the quality continue as good, we shall be all the better pleased by the increase of the quantity. On this subject Mr. McCabe himself observes (Introduction, p. 18):

"I cannot look at the number of pages in the present volume, and recollect that it does not conduct the history further down than the Danish Invasion, without feeling it necessary to offer an observation to the reader. Its bulk may be regarded as a proof, that there will be found in it many things not to be met with in other histories of England, *in the English language*; and if the reader should think that statements as to the wise, the great, and the good of the olden time, which have swelled the size of the book, have been with propriety introduced in such a work as this, then I can truly affirm that I am more liable to the charge of omission, than of prolixity; and that my desire to compress, has induced me to omit many valuable, many interesting, and many edifying facts respecting the most glorious, if not the most important period in the annals of England."

Mr. McCabe has clearly and modestly expressed the

* "The text," says Mr. McCabe, (Introduction p. 14.) "of the first part of this work, that is, 'the History of England to the time of the Reformation,' will be composed exclusively from the works, and the very words used by the Monastic writers. Every care will be taken to show by the notes which of the writers' words are translated in the text. For instance, if a long quotation be given from any writer, his name will appear to the first sentence translated from him, and again repeated at the close of the passage." From this we should conclude, that Mr. McCabe intends bringing his history down to the Reformation on the present plan, and that the second part, which will probably bring it down to the present time, will be in his own words.

aim and the plan of his book in the Introduction ; and it is only fair that we should afford our readers an opportunity of judging of both in his own language.

"Without," (he says,) "questioning the merits, or pointing out the faults of the multitude of writers who have published books on the subject of English history, I may observe, that each and all of these, the very best as well as the very worst, have appropriately given *their names* to the different books that have appeared from them. Thus we have *Lingard's 'History of England,'* as well as *Hume's 'History of England,'* and the names of their respective authors assure us, where we may hope to meet with truth, and where we have to fear the wiles of insincerity. We find in these as in all others, the materials of history exposed to a purifying or a debasing process ; but in none is there afforded to the reader an opportunity of judging for himself. 'The historian' descants upon the value of his 'authorities,' but the authorities themselves are excluded from his pages ; and the English reader is seldom permitted to know any thing more of them than the titles of their works. In this respect the *following pages will be found to differ from every preceding History of England.* This will not be the history of the individual whose name appears on the title page ; but the History of England as written by the *Ancient Annalists, Chroniclers, Biographers, and Historians of England,* witnesses as they were for the most part of the scenes and transactions they describe ; and in every instance beyond the sphere of those motives by which but too many of our modern writers have been prompted to make the materials of our annals, subservient to the prejudices and interests of party. Many have testified to the value of the Ancient Chroniclers as authorities. My object is, it is my explanation and apology also, that the English reader should know them, not as mere *authorities*, but as *authors recording the history of their country.* In a point of vital importance, this work will thus be found to differ from all others on the same subject. If it have any merit at all, that merit will be found to consist in the originality of its plan ; in the attempt, however feebly executed, to make the reader acquainted with the writings, with the thoughts of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, Asser, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, Eadmer, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmsbury, Eddius, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden, John Brompton, William of Newbury, Roger de Wendover, Matthew Paris, Nicholas Trivet, Ralph Higden, Goscelin, Sprott, Walsingham, Knighton, Capgrave, &c. &c. ; to do this, not by mere extracts from them, but by making their works their text out of which the history is compiled, and by combining them together to give a consecutive narrative of the ancient annals of the country. In short, by introducing the reader to those venerable monks, and leaving him to learn history from their lips. Thus in this volume it will be found that they are the writers of their own history—that they

are the persons who appeal to the reader's judgment—that they are his instructors, and that *from them alone* information is derived. To their writings notes are appended, either for the purpose of illustrating or of verifying their statements—of making clear what otherwise might be obscure—of pointing out where omissions occur in their narrative—or of attempting a comment upon passages, which bear not only on the past but upon the present position of the country, of the people or of their moral and social condition. The same course is pursued with them, as if the task were entrusted to the writer of bringing out an edition of some classical author. In that case, it is obvious, that the value of the work must consist in the purity of the text and the appositeness of the notes, and in the fulness of illustration which they afforded to the text. Here the endeavour is made, by uniting the writings of the monkish historians, and by placing them in chronological order, to give a narrative of *by-gone events in the very words of the original writers, and unmixed with the opinions of any modern author*; whilst these words are accompanied by notes, which are only of value, so far as they can prove themselves sustained by authority."

Such is the author's own account of his design; and he has certainly most faithfully carried it out in his work as far as it has yet progressed. The present volume sheds a clearer light upon the remote period of which it treats, than is to be derived from any other modern history. We have not here a mere catalogue of kings, with the probable dates of their accession and of their assassination, or a dry and monotonous record of battles: for the far more important and interesting history of the great body of the people—how they lived, what were their amusements, their occupations, their religious feelings, and devotional practices, is here laid open before us. Those venerable old monks, who are the true authors of this volume, were as benighted on the subject of history as upon most other matters—they wanted the modern enlightenment upon the subject—for they made the annals of the poor, and the records of the fidelity of the people to God's law, or their prevarication from it, two of its principal elements—matters which are now generally eliminated from the polite pages of modern writers. A man, and of course a lady, may be quite religious now—indeed, may be a *decided* saint—by only talking about the Bible, and abusing the monks. In the old days of monkish ignorance, a saint required not only faith but works; he was required not only to learn, but to practise the Gospel. Popish superstitions these, no doubt; but out of them grew the

most abundant alms for the poor, and the noblest and the best constitution that ever was devised by uninspired genius.

Nor must it be imagined that the Catholic history of England is devoid of interest for those who delight in the din and clangour of battle. All the sympathies of the monastic writers are indeed on the side of the poor and of religion—these are the themes on which they dilate with the greatest and most evident satisfaction; and, like all simple and unsophisticated men, they behold God's works with wonder and delight, and their writings are filled with charming descriptions of the beauties of nature. But when they are obliged to turn from these holier themes to the conflict of human passions, and to tell the strife of a fierce and bloody battle, they often do it with all the vividness, distinctness, and fire of the classic writers. They have this vast advantage also over the pagan authors, that the intervention of Heaven is introduced, not as a mere ornamental fiction, but as an indisputable fact, founded on a firm faith in an over-ruling Providence, which is so watchful that a hair cannot fall from our heads without the permission of our heavenly Father. Mr. McCabe has supplied a striking example of the injustice with which the monastic chroniclers have been treated in this, as well as in every other, respect, by our modern historians. Hume, in the first chapter of his history, says: "In the year 741 Oswald was succeeded by his cousin Cuthred. The reign of this prince was distinguished by a great victory, which he obtained by means of Ethelhun his general, over Ethelbald king of Mercia. His death made way for Sigebert." He compresses the reign of Ethelbald into precisely the same compass. Mr. McCabe takes up the single incident in their reigns of the battle which was fought between them, and inserts the description of it (Introduction, p. 9.) as given by the monastic historian Henry of Huntingdon.

"Cuthred finding the exactions of Ethelbald intolerable and his oppression unceasing, determined to muster an army and meet the tyrant in the field, resolved to die a free and independent sovereign, rather than live as if he were the bondman of another. He had in this battle the support of his Ealdorman Ethelhun, who from his foe had become his steadfast and trusty friend. Cuthred confided to the valour of Ethelhun's arm in the conflict, and he was guided by his counsel in the disposition of his army. He relied upon both as capacitating him to withstand the worst efforts of Ethelbald. The

latter as the monarch over tributary kings, marched to the field of battle with an immense body of forces—he brought against the West Saxons, the warriors not only of Mercia but also of Kent, of the East Saxons, and of the Angles. The hostile armies met at Burford. As soon as they were arrayed in lines against each other, both at the same time advanced to the attack, preceded by the standard bearers of their respective sovereigns. Ethelhun, who carried the golden dragon, the ensign of the king of Wessex, rushed forward and transfixed the enemy's standard bearer. A loud and joyous huzza burst from the ranks of Cuthred, as they crossed their weapons with their foes. An awful crash then followed—and then came the roar, the tumult, and the thunder sounds of battle—the clatter of swords, the heavy fall of the instruments of death, the piercing shrieks and sobbing groans of the wounded, and of men in their last agonies. Havoc spread like fire, and consumed in its rage the compact masses as they hurried into the thickest of the horrid strife. The Mercians and West Saxons seemed to feel that this was a battle, the result of which, was to decide the fate of their posterity for ever. One moment might be seen troops of soldiers with glittering armour, with crested helmets, with bristling spears, and with banners gay with gold and radiant with brilliant colours, and in a moment after, the same soldiers might be beheld covered with blood, their helmets broken, their armour crushed, their spears in splinters, their banners torn, dabbled with blood, or clotted even with the brains of those who had fought in their defence. It was, however, round the regal standards in both armies, that the bravest and boldest were to be found; rank following rank, and doing the work of destruction with the sword or Amazonian battle-axe. In neither was there entertained a thought of flight, both fought with the certain expectation of victory; the Mercians inflated with the pride of many former conquests, the West Saxons incited by an utter detestation of slavery. In all parts of this terrible field of battle, the Ealdorman Ethelhun was to be seen cutting his way through entire ranks of his foes, and leaving a heap of dead or dying in his track; for his awful battle-axe fell like the thunderbolt upon men and armour, striking them dead and riving them to pieces on the instant. On the other hand, the valiant King Ethelbald rushed amongst the enemy, and slaughtered all who chanced to encounter him; for to his sword the breast-plates of his foes were but as a thin garment, and their bones but as yielding flesh. Ethelhun and Ethelbald were as two dreadful fires, which beginning from opposite quarters, at length in their progress of destruction, come to unite their raging flames with each other. Ethelbald and Ethelhun stood face to face, both were brave, each felt in regarding the warlike champion who stood before him, that he had a terrible opponent. They gnashed their teeth with rage—exchanged blows—then collected all their strength and prepared for a mutual conflict, in which at last, each was to be fairly matched with his only fitting

combatant. It was at that very moment that God who resists the proud, and from whom all strength, courage, and magnanimity come, withdrew His grace from Ethelbald. Ethelbald's spirit was abated. He felt on the instant that he had neither his wonted courage nor his accustomed strength; he fled the very first from the battle, and abandoned his soldiers to the wrath of the mighty champion he had been himself afraid to encounter. And from that day forth, God never permitted anything to prosper with him."

There is nothing superior to this in Thucydides.

There are a very considerable number of miracles recorded in this volume; and, considering the early date of the writings in the text, this is quite natural. The writers of the period embraced in it, did not treat with incredulity or distrust the recorded instances of the extraordinary interference of divine Providence on behalf of religion, virtue, and truth. They believed that there were men,

"Virtuous and holy, chosen from above
By inspiration of celestial grace,
To work exceeding miracles on earth."

We know with what scepticism these wonders will be regarded by the great mass of dissenters who plume themselves on what they are pleased to call their freedom from superstition. We attribute their incredulity to a want of faith, and to the absence of that tender piety which made the early Christians feel and acknowledge the presence of the Deity everywhere.

"But you—that are polluted with your lusts,
Stained with the guiltless blood of innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices—
Because you want the grace that others have,
You judge it straight a thing impossible
To compass wonders."

The miracles recorded in this volume, like all other ecclesiastical miracles, are mere historical facts, whose credibility depends on the amount of evidence by which they are sustained. Besides, the more extraordinary the fact, the more unimpeachable ought to be the testimony by which it is supported. It is equally irrational to believe or disbelieve a fact because it is supernatural; nor can we imagine a greater excess of absurdity than is manifested by those who deny all miracles that are not recorded in

Scripture, as if the power of the Almighty ceased the moment the inspired volume was written. In the fourth century we have a miracle attested not only by the concurrent testimony of the Christian writers of the period, but also by that of a contemporary pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus. He tells us that when, under the protection of the apostate emperor Julian, the Jews attempted to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, "terrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundation, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place from time to time inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent as it were to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned." "Such authority," says the infidel Gibbon, "should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind." The records of miracles are therefore not confined to Scripture, nor their performance to the times before it was written. The arm of God is not shortened: He is as able to perform miracles now, as when the very shadow of Peter healed the diseased; and we would believe in a miracle performed in the nineteenth century as firmly as in one performed in the fourth or in the first, if it were attested by sufficient evidence. Miracles are certainly less frequent now than they were in the early ages; partly because the Gospel is propagated amongst us, and partly, we have no doubt, on account of our want of faith. But we should remember that Mr. McCabe's volume treats of the struggles of faith against infidelity—of the introduction of Christianity into a pagan kingdom, and that miracles were then necessary for the propagation of the Gospel, for the confusion of the infidel, and for the strengthening of the believer. It is no error against faith to disbelieve any miracles that are not revealed in the Gospel; but it is a grievous insult to common sense and a grievous injury to Christian piety to doubt God's power to work a miracle whenever He pleases, or to reject without enquiry what He in His infinite mercy may have intended for our instruction and edification. We are no believers in pious frauds—we are convinced that truth is necessary in everything, but especially in religion; and therefore we would be amongst the first to denounce a fictitious miracle, no matter what might be the object for which it was invented. In some instances a natural effect may be honestly mistaken for a miracle; and then

it would be the greatest injustice to accuse the narrator of fraud, however we may disagree with his judgment. All we bespeak for a miracle, is what we have a right to ask for every important fact,—an impartial examination; and we have no doubt but that the simple and sincere narrative of the monastic writers will carry conviction to many a Christian heart, which has been misled by the sneer of the sceptic or of the infidel.

Having said thus much upon this matter, we shall now transcribe, from page 533, a description of the apparition of the B. Virgin at Evesham.

“There was at that time in the district of Worcester, a spot of land, wild, uncultivated, and overgrown with brambles and bushes. The place is now called Evesham. This was sought for and obtained from Ethelred king of the Mercians by Bishop Egwin. In this woody district there were four herdsmen placed to watch the animals necessary for the subsistence of the bishop and his clergy. One of these herdsmen was named Eoves, who one day chancing to penetrate into the very thickest part of the forest, came to a certain place in which he beheld a virgin, whose beauty surpassed that of mortals, and whose presence illuminated the spot on which she seemed to stand, by the sun-like brightness that encompassed her. This virgin, who appeared to have two attendant maidens in her society, held in her hand a book, and seemed engaged in singing canticles of heavenly joy. The herdsman was terrified by the dazzling vision; he felt unable long to look on the awful brightness that at once shone before his eyes. Silent and trembling he hastened to his house, and then communicated to the holy bishop the particulars of the spectacle which he had beheld. The religious bishop reflected maturely upon this circumstance, and having done so, he then prepared himself by fasts and prayers; and upon a certain day, accompanied by three of his pious monks, he proceeded barefooted to the place that Eoves had indicated. When he came to the confines of the particular spot pointed out by the herdsman, he there left his companions, and advanced alone into the wood. He there threw himself upon the earth, and with sighs and tears implored the mercy of his Redeemer. Upon rising from prayer, three virgins such as they had been described, in their splendour, their magnificence, and their glory, appeared before him. The virgin who stood in the centre outshone her companions in majesty as in beauty, fairer than the lily, more blooming than the rose; every sense of the beholder was uplifted to heaven, as if wafted on the balmy fragrance of incense when he looked upon her. This divine virgin bore in one hand a book and in the other a golden cross, radiant with dazzling diamond gems of light. Egwin, as he looked, believed in his heart that he beheld before him the Holy Mother

of God; and she, as if approving his pious thought, stretched forth her hand as he knelt before her, and making the sign of benediction with the cross, thus seemed to bid him farewell as she vanished from his view. The pious prelate was filled with joy. Gratefully did he tender his thanks to God as the suggestion rose to his mind, that the place in which he stood should be consecrated to His worship, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. He made a vow if God should prosper his undertaking, that on that spot a church should be erected. At once the good work was begun—a space was cleared for a fitting christian temple, and the pious founder lived to see its completion.”

This “wild, uncultivated land,” which was “overgrown with brambles and bushes,” was colonized with monks by this holy bishop, and their labours soon made it one of the most fertile spots in England. The thriving town of Evesham quickly sprung up beside the monastery. It was thus the monks acted as the pioneers of civilization. They built churches, founded monasteries, reclaimed the barren waste; they taught the poor the knowledge of God, and fed them with the labour of their hands. Ignorant persons often remark that the monks chose the most fertile spots to settle in, but they forget that these owed their fertility to the unwearied industry of the pious brethren.

The religious men of the present generation whom God has blessed with genius, have a gigantic task before them, and one which cannot be accomplished but by a minute subdivision of labour. That task is to undo the work of centuries, and to infuse a Catholic spirit into the literature of the country. The entire food of the mind—the simple spelling-book and the flimsy novel, as well as the ponderous tomes on science and history, are, with very few exceptions, poisoned with the leaven of bigotry. The child no sooner learns to read, than the tender susceptibility of its young mind is wounded, and its heart perhaps corrupted, by foul and gross libels upon the religion which is professed by the great majority of Christians. This is most pernicious to all parties—to the Protestant, by teaching him hatred instead of love for his neighbour; and to the Catholic, by accustoming him to the abuse of all that he reveres as most sacred and most holy. There never can be a cordial union, even for temporal purposes, in these countries so long as this demon of bigotry is cherished—so long as one party continues to insult another on account of the religious belief of its members. No man is fit to belong to

a party calling itself Irish, who openly advocates the principles of Protestant ascendancy. It would be the grossest delusion, as well as the basest subserviency, to countenance such a combination. We fear that the ascendancy party in Ireland are not yet prepared to stand on an equality with their Catholic fellow subjects, but they will soon learn this, if the Catholics know how to respect themselves, and to assert their own dignity. Nothing can act so powerfully in effecting this object, as the purification of the books which are put into their hands from the damning taint of bigotry. This will also have a vast effect upon Protestants, the great majority of whom are eager to read Catholic books. Every man, therefore, who labours in this abundant field, is a benefactor to his country. Mr. McCabe has now enrolled himself amongst those who are engaged in producing a healthy Catholic literature; and his present volume, though but the beginning of his labours, is no mean contribution to this great work. He has given us a picture of old Catholic times, painted by those who lived in them, and certainly no one can look on it without admiration. We do not see in it the venerable monks spending their time in ignorance and idleness, as Protestant historians have represented them; but laboriously collecting and transcribing books, studying the sacred Scriptures, reclaiming the wild and barren waste, and feeding the poor with the produce of its fertility. There is also in Mr. McCabe's book some important light thrown upon the faith and religious practices of the Anglo-Saxons, which are identical with those of the Catholic Church of the present time. We heartily wish it God-speed; and we trust that it will meet with such encouragement as will induce the author to continue it down to the Reformation in the words of the monks, and from that to the present time in his own.

Since writing the observations contained in the early part of this article on the conduct of the "Irish party" in opposing the extension of out-door relief to the able-bodied poor, we have a certainty that parliament will enact a law which will, at all events, prevent the starving who cannot get into the workhouse from being any longer dependant on the tender mercies of the landlords. There never was a more disgraceful fact recorded in the history of any country than that which has been proclaimed in the month of February by the Protestant bishop of Derry, that

the central relief committee for all Ireland had no more funds, and could afford no further relief. This was no fault of the committee; but it speaks volumes for the *voluntary* charity of the landlords, to which they are themselves so anxious to consign the people. The entire sum placed at the disposal of the relief committee amounted to about 16,000 pounds, of which five or six were contributed by England and India, leaving the contributions of all Ireland to the central committee to amount to about 10,000 pounds! It would not support the millions of destitute persons for more than two or at most three days. There are several proprietors of land in Ireland, who, when five millions of their countrymen were starving, should have singly contributed the entire sum. Some of them are behaving nobly in their own localities, and supporting not only the poor on their own estates, but those also who are obliged to fly from the inhumanity of others. But the great majority have not taken the least pains to support the poor upon their own estates; and they have either refused to contribute altogether, or come forward on compulsion, and in the most paltry, heartless, and niggardly manner. To leave the indigent to them is to leave them to starve; and every humane man must advocate an extension of the poor-law so as to include out-door relief.

We have now no fear that the principle of out-door relief will not be embodied in the new poor law for Ireland, at least so far as that, when the poor house is full, out-door relief will be afforded to all the other destitute persons of the Union, whether they be old, infirm, permanently disabled, or able-bodied; and that care will be taken to guard against any device by which the inmates of the workhouse might be intentionally kept below the allotted number. We are not at all so sanguine about the success of other provisions, without which the new bill will be a mockery, unless the Irish people, and especially the Irish priests, bestir themselves. Our fears are grounded on the habitual misgovernment of Ireland by the English legislature; on the active hostility of the "Irish Party," headed by that paltry popinjay, Spring Rice, ycleped Montague; on the mischievous intermeddling of Lord Stanley, who has ever been the bitter enemy of Ireland; and above all, upon the apathy of the Irish people. If the glorious efforts of the Cloyne priests in behalf of the poor, who through

their excellent representatives, the Rev. Messrs. Collins and McCarthy, are now labouring almost single-handed to prevent the good of the new poor law being marred by mischievous details, were seconded by their brethren in other parts of Ireland, we have no doubt but that the people of England would force even the House of Lords to pass an efficient and unobjectionable poor law. They are warned of the mischief which is in preparation, and there is no time to be lost in preventing it. Lord Stanley is reported to have said in the House of Lords on the 15th of February, that, "though the question was not before them, he might be allowed to suggest to their lordships whether it might not be wise and safe, when they came to grant more extended powers and impose heavier burthens, to alter the arrangements with respect to boards of guardians, and give the same security as was given in England by a number of ex officio guardians,"—this was his first suggestion; his second was as follows:—"He thought that under the provisions of the proposed law, no man should be *deemed* destitute or entitled to relief, who was at the time an occupier or in possession of land." In England, all the magistrates of the Union are ex officio members of the board of guardians. On the first of March, Lord John Russell may be said to have adopted the first of these suggestions, by declaring that the magistrates who represent themselves and a few other magistrates, instead of constituting, as heretofore, the one-fourth, should hereafter constitute one-half of the board of guardians. In England, where the rich sympathise with the poor, and where they would not dare to starve them on account of their politics or religion, this may be all very right and proper, and the system may work admirably. But unfortunately in Ireland, the landlords, as a body, have yet to learn charity towards both the bodies and the souls of the poor. And first with regard to the body, which is more immediately concerned. The contemplated arrangement would give them the exclusive control of the provision for the poor; for as one-half would be ex officio, and as they could always secure the election of many on their own interest, they would always constitute an overwhelming majority of the board. The poor would, in fact, be left at their mercy, and this, as the facts we have already stated sufficiently prove, would be equivalent to an edict of starvation. On the 3rd of March, the Dublin correspondent

of the "Daily News" states, on the authority of "One who is no Alarmist," that "the deaths from *starvation* in one parish in Clare, are 80 per month," whilst that from fever must be enormous. He adds:—"In the midst of all these horrors, the agent and drivers are as busy as ever sweeping hill and vale before them. Yesterday, I met 40 or 50 skeletons of cows, scarcely able to move, driven to pound for the last May rent. On the very farm, so swept and cleared of every quadruped, there is scarcely an house that is not a lazaretto. Fever is in every cabin." In the same county, Captain Wynne convened a public meeting, at which he reiterated his charges that, *members of the committee thrust their own tenants on the works, while the poor died of starvation*. He proved one most shameful case of violating the privileges of poverty. He produced to the meeting a list *furnished by the committee*, in which only two had been returned as occupiers of land, and *those with a single acre each*. The captain compared the list with the poor-law valuation, and found one of the men had 250 acres, two more had 80 acres each, some had 40, and others 30 and 20!" And these be your landlords—these the persons to whom, by your new poor-relief act, you order all the poor of the country to look up for protection and support. But then they will act under the control of the new "chief commissioner" and his assistants. Why, the commissioners have not been able to make Lord Lucan and the other guardians of the Castlebar Union collect the rate from those who were able to pay it, or to make them keep the workhouse open for its allotted number, even when the poor of the district were dying of starvation. Lord Lucan, in defending himself in the House of Lords, is reported to have declared that he had paid his own rates at all events. Hereupon Sir Richard O'Donel and the other guardians of the Westport Union, in which his lordship has considerable property, unanimously declare that he is a defaulter in five electoral divisions—"that the rate collector of the electoral divisions of Aughagower, Kilmeena, and Kilmaclasser had duly furnished the necessary stated accounts from the rate-books to the office of the Earl of Lucan, in March, 1846, that they were subsequently furnished by the *solicitor of the board*, in July, 1846, and that they were returned from the office of the Earl of Lucan with observations which, in the opinion of this board, do not exempt his lordship from the liability of

discharging them. That the Marquis of Sligo and Sir R. A. O'Donel have duly discharged similar rates." They resolve further, "that similar lists were furnished to the office of the Earl of Lucan for the electoral divisions of Westport and Clare Island by the collector in *January*, 1846, and by the solicitor in July, 1846, of which only £10. has been discharged by his lordship's bailiff." Here is the lord lieutenant of the county with his "poor-rates" due for twelve months in the county of Mayo, where, but for the generosity of strangers, one-half the population would be cut off by famine. The landlords, therefore, are not fit to be entrusted with the exclusive care of the body, and still less with that of the soul. The effect of the contemplated change, would be to make the board of guardians almost exclusively Protestant, whilst the vast majority of the paupers are Catholics. In the county of Londonderry, where the Catholics form a large majority of the population, there is not a single Catholic magistrate. In Antrim there are only two, neither of whom is an ex officio poor-law guardian, for the magistrates would never think of being guilty of such a gross act of vulgar liberality as to elect them. In Down, Armagh, Tyrone, Cavan, &c., there are very few Catholic magistrates, not one of whom is an ex officio guardian. Nor are the Catholics the only persons excluded by the magistrates; for the liberal Protestants share the same fate. The Marquis of Headfort, Sir William Sommerville, and a vast number of others, some of whom are the largest landed proprietors in the Union, have been excluded by the magistrates on account of their politics alone. There has been already, in many cases, a great deal of bickering about interference with the religion of the children; and if their consciences be put under the control of the ex officio guardians, and of the elected ones who will agree with them and give them a perpetual majority, we can assure the government and the people of England that the law will be worse and more inoperative than it is at present.

With regard to out-door relief, the people of Ireland should insist on its being afforded (1.) to the aged and infirm, and to the permanently disabled; (2.) When a family becomes temporarily destitute on account of the illness of one of its members, on whom it depended partially or wholly for support; (3.) In cases of urgent necessity; (4.) The pauper should have power to proceed against

the relieving officer or inspector, or whatever he may be called, if he refuses relief. In these respects we only want the Irish poor-law to be perfectly assimilated to the English. We approve of the change in the law which will bring the new chief commissioner and the present commissioners, who are to be called inspectors, with their underlings, more immediately in contact with the executive government. We also approve of the provision by which each electoral division shall be obliged to support its own poor, provided the rate does not exceed 2s. 6d. in the pound, and that whatever exceeds that amount shall be levied off the Union at large. If the new poor-relief bill should be such as we have here desired, we would consider a vagrancy act not only a useful but a necessary enactment. The character of the bill will mainly depend on the conduct of the Irish people; and we are glad to find by the account of a meeting of the farmers and land-owners of Armagh, Down, and Antrim, held in Belfast on the 28th of Feb. that the Protestant and Presbyterian ministers of the North, are joining with the priests of the South, in calling on Parliament to give out-door relief to the poor, and to protect the tenantry from the tyranny of the landlords. At the Belfast meeting, the following resolution was moved by the Rev. Dr. Montgomery, one of the leading Presbyterian ministers of Ulster:—"That under proper restrictions to prevent idleness and imposition, a poor law, authorising *out-door relief* in food to the *able-bodied*, seems *indispensable* in this country, where in certain districts and at certain seasons, adequate employment cannot be obtained. That no poor law, however, can permanently benefit Ireland, or prevent the increase of present evils, which shall not contain, I. A law of settlement. II. A vagrant act to suppress mendicancy. III. A provision for extensive emigration. IV. A clause compelling each electoral division to support its own poor, instead of the contemplated measure of placing the support of the able-bodied upon the rates of the whole union." The resolution for giving the tenantry legal protection against the landlords, or in other words, for extending by law to the other parts of Ireland the invaluable "tenant right" which the petitioners themselves enjoy by custom, was moved by a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. F. Blakely. "Resolved, that from our knowledge of the state and views of this country, we give it as *our united and deliberate judg-*

ment, that a law containing provisions enabling *tenants to claim the occupation of their farms at fair rents*, without reference to valuable improvements; or legally to demand reasonable compensation for such in case of dispossession, or of non-agreement between landlord and tenant, would mutually benefit both the owners and occupiers of the soil, and through them better the condition of the working classes by increasing a general demand for labour—we therefore trust that Parliament will postpone the discussion of the landed property bill until after the introduction of the promised ministerial measure respecting Irish tenant-right—which measure will, we hope, be based upon the suggestions in the report of the landlord and tenant commission, and *confirm to the occupiers of land through all Ireland, those rights which are now enjoyed by custom in the province of Ulster, and particularly in this locality.*” The chairman of the meeting, Guy Stone, Esq., a magistrate of the county Down, said: that “in the North of Ireland the tenant right was respected, and to *that one thing above all others*, he attributed the prosperity of the North over the South and West, but as the tenants did not know who would succeed the present landlords, it was highly desirable that the tenant right, or in other words, the right of compensation for valuable improvements, should be secured to the tenants.”

We are delighted to see these two measures united, outdoor relief for the poor and the protection of the tenant right for the farmer. Let the “Irish party” unite for carrying these into effect, and we will believe in them. But they will do no such thing—they will oppose both one and the other; and if the Irish people put their trust in them they will be grievously deceived. But if without trusting to any party, the Irish demand these things for themselves, the English people and the English Parliament are just in the humour to grant them. This would indeed be a mighty revolution—the poor would no longer die of hunger—the farmer would no longer be treated as a serf, but would have an interest in the land he tills; and the landlords finding that they must support the poor, would join the people in demanding for this, their chief original object, the surplus revenues of the monstrous church establishment in Ireland. If the present opportunity be allowed to pass, without advantage being taken of it, in all likelihood so favourable a one will not again occur for a century. To

the Irish people therefore we say, "Ask now, and ye shall receive."

ART. VI.—1. "*The Geraldines*." By FATHER DOMINIC O'DALY, Portuguese Ambassador at the Court of France. (Library of Ireland.) Dublin: 1847.

2.—*Historical Works of Nicholas French, D. D. Bishop of Ferns.* Dublin: 1847.

THE publication of these little histories at the present imperial crisis, gives to contemplative minds, abundant matter for reflection. They are histories of Irish Revolutions, written by dignitaries of the Catholic Church; who denounce, as might naturally be expected, the penal laws and confiscations, but profess conscientious allegiance to the King of England. Nothing but *conscience*, could have suggested this singular allegiance, because when they wrote they were honoured in the courts of foreign princes, and had little hope of ever returning to their country. Their loyalty did not mean, a right to devour the people in the name of God and the king; it was not love for England, so long as England allowed them to plunder; it was the pure allegiance of duty, like that which has ever since animated their successors in the Irish Catholic Church.

Revolution is again at its work in Ireland. The people starve, and the proprietors are generally bankrupt. The descendants of the conquerors of 1601, 1650, 1690, pauperised by their own extravagance, must take their true place in society, from the operation of an efficient Poor Law, which in a few years will teach them the duties of proprietors. In this consummation the enthusiastic Catholic would recognise the avenging arm of God; he would say that the "*Geraldines*," and the "*Sale and Settlement of Ireland*," were reproving angels, appearing at this awful crisis to announce that sooner or later even in this world, great national crimes beget great national punishments. But the statesman, and the man who looks to the future, be he statesman or not, will leave these considerations upon God's retributive justice to others, and

taking a salutary lesson from the past, will endeavour to see how the great problem may be solved, how Ireland can prosper and the Imperial connexion be preserved.

Dominic O'Daly, the author of the *Geraldines*, took the Dominican habit in the convent of Tralee, but being forced to fly from his country, he was raised by his great talents and capacity for business, to a high place in the councils of the King of Spain. He was charged with a secret mission to Charles I., Charles II., and Innocent X., and when Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke in 1640, he was selected by John IV. as ambassador to the King of France. Three bishoprics, Braga, Coimbra, and Oporto, were offered to him at different times—but refused. He loved his humble habit, and wished to devote himself exclusively to his own countrymen, for whom he founded the Irish College, Lisbon, and other continental establishments. He wrote his history of the *Geraldines*, after the subjugation of Ireland by Cromwell; when she suffered such wrongs as rarely occur in the annals of the world. O'Daly felt these wrongs as a priest and an Irishman; he pours out his fervid soul in deploring and denouncing them—but the word "*separation*," never escapes him; the cool head of the Ambassador, controuls the fiery aspirations of the Irishman; the historian of the great Anglo-Irish nobles, checks the rebel wish of the persecuted friar.

"Elizabeth, this far-famed English Queen, has grown drunk on the blood of Christ's martyrs, and like a tigress has she hunted down the Irish Catholics, exceeding in ferocity and wanton cruelty the Emperors of Pagan Rome. So far was it from her intention not to persecute the Catholics for religion sake, that she inflicted the punishment of death on all those who refused to take the oath of supremacy. Usurping as she did the headship of the Church in spirituals, she would be nothing less than the head of both. Truly for my own part, I recognise Elizabeth as the Queen of England; for her person, I entertain respect, nor do I envy her her fair fame; but in treating such matters as are intimately interwoven with her public life, religion, truthfulness, and honour, counsel me to conceal nothing. When not more than six years old, this woman excelled not alone all the princesses of her time in profound knowledge of the Latin Tongue, but even those of her own sex of inferior condition throughout the kingdom; nor will I gainsay her knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, or her intimate familiarity with the controversies of her day. 'But I suffer not a woman,' saith the apostle, 'to teach nor to use authority over man, but to be in

silence.' Surely this rule laid down by the apostle, overturns Elizabeth's primacy."—pp. 150, 151.

And again,—

"That an oath of allegiance to the rightful sovereign, is in itself rational and just nobody will deny; for the sovereign has an indisputable right to the fidelity and support of his people in all matters which regard the stability of the crown and the public weal. But from the earliest moment of King Henry's schism, the oath of allegiance began to have interwoven with it a strange novelty, to wit, the acknowledgment of the monarch's supremacy in religion as well as in the state."—p. 166.

From his history of the Geraldines, it appears the great object of his wishes, the mode in which he would have settled Ireland, was to let her enjoy her own creed, and continue faithful to the English crown. Though a mere Irishman, he is in love with those turbulent but generous nobles, sprung from Strongbow's train, who have left in all quarters of the Island so many grand monuments of their zeal, and who spent on their own estates, the produce of their lands and their spoils in war. They intermarried with the Irish and the greatest English families; thus Isabella, only daughter of Strongbow and Eva McMurrough, married William, Earl Marshall of England, to whom she bore ten children, five sons and five daughters; the five sons dying without issue, the eldest daughter married Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, who thus became Earl Marshall of England; another daughter brought the title of Earl of Wexford to the noble house of Talbot; a third married Mortimer, the ancestor of one of the rival claimants in the wars of the Roses; and from a fourth was descended the illustrious Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. O'Daly had to a degree of weakness the national partiality for sounding titles, and long lines of ancestry; he was a friar, and could not but be grateful for the 160 monasteries erected in those turbulent ages between 1172 and 1540, when monasteries were the only hearts of civilization—and hence, no doubt, his pathetic lamentations over the fall of those great foreigners, who felt themselves at home in Ireland, and became more Irish than the Irish themselves.

"The people paid submission to them through all their holdings; they had moreover castles and strongholds—numerous seaports—lands that were charming to the eye and rich in fruits—the mountains were theirs together with the woods—their were the rocky

coasts and the sweet blue lakes which teemed with fish. Yea, this fairest of lands did they win by the sword and govern by their laws, loved by their own, dreaded by their enemies, they were the delight of princes and patrons of gifted youth. Oh! but they were a great and glorious race."—p. 118.

But in one point he was egregiously wrong. He views the operations against Desmond as suggested purely by Protestantism. Elizabeth, he supposes, would not have confiscated his immense estates, if he had conformed to the Anglican church, but it is evident to any person who knows the history of Ireland, that if the Reformation had never appeared, Elizabeth's conquest of Ireland, would, in all human probability, have been effected, not with cruelty so frightful as stained it; but yet it would have been attempted. That very conquest, the subjugation of Ireland to English law, was planned and urged before the Reformation, by a minister of Henry VII., in whose reign the king's writ did not run more than some score miles from Dublin, and all the English towns and settlements were paying black rent to the Irish and Anglo-Irish chieftains. It was during the reign of the Catholic Mary, that the O'Mores and O'Connors of Offaly and Leix, were reduced to the grade of English shiremen. Protestantism embittered the struggle, but the real object of England was conquest. If there had been a sincere wish to Protestantise, the Scriptures and Liturgy would have been translated, or English schools established, but neither was done. "Was there ever an instance of any country converted except by persons speaking its language?" was the query of Bishop Berkeley, 200 years after the Reformation. But it suited the interests of succeeding generations to represent the soldiers of Elizabeth as the great champions of Protestantism. Protestantism had lost its expansive force before Desmond fell; it converted no country in Europe after that time; its only operation was persecution and revolution in the mazes of error—the worms, writhing and devouring each other in the decaying body.

Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, author of the second book on the list, was also a loyalist, and to such a degree, as in sober truth, cannot easily be conceived at the present day. He was a member of the confederation of Kilkenny. When all Ireland was nearly in the hands of the Catholics, he, as a descendant of the Anglo-Normans, and a conscientious loyalist, never thought of separation; he would have

been quite content with civil and religious liberty for the Catholics, with the very reasonable addition, that as there were no Protestants in Ireland, the cathedrals and churches should be open to the old creed. He lived to witness the awful catastrophe under Cromwell; he saw the lands of Episcopalian and Catholic parcelled among the fierce Puritans; he saw that settlement confirmed by the King, for whose father the Catholic Irish had laid down their arms in the full flush of victory; yet no rebel wish escapes him. The old ties of the "Pale" man, the allegiance inculcated by his church, allowed him no other choice than to have Ireland a sister kingdom, enjoying her own religion and laws.

"Good God! how this man (Orrery) doth abuse this Pope's pious and good meaning expressed in foresaid bull—as if the religion of the Catholics had an inconsistency with their duty and obedience to the king, which is most false. The Pope's power over the people is '*in spiritualibus*,' the King's power '*in temporalibus*,' and those powers do well agree, (as is evidently known all over the world,) in the power of Catholic Princes over their subjects, and in the Pope's power over the same people; those powers and jurisdictions in Catholic times in England did not clash, nor do they now in their nature, the Catholic people paying their duty to both. It is true, the '*Luminare majus*,' (the Pope,) Catholics venerate more than '*Luminare minus*,' (the King,) because '*Luminare majus*' hath the greater light and influence; yet they do not therefore omit to pay due veneration to the King, V. l. p. 24. Orrery and all of his bands and combination have dealt with us as the devil did with Job; the devil touched all that was Job's except his life; Orrery and his people have touched all that was ours except our souls, which we hope in the divine mercy, God will preserve for his own worship and glory, so as we have still to say, 'Heaven is ours.'"—p. 26.

"In those days they styled your majesty only Charles Stuart, to call you king was a treason among them. And what is done in the end? After all this villany, contempt of royal family, open rebellion and war against the crown, and after putting the good king to death, after our fidelity, obedience, and hearty affection to your majesty, and after your own kingly testimony and expression of the same, the matter hath been strangely carried. How? The known rebels had your majesty's pardon, they were magnified; had places of trust and profit, and to boot, carried away our houses, lands, and estates by your majesty's grant under the great seal; 'O tempora! O mores! O laceratam justitiam!' and what is our lot and share of this tragical play after all your royal promises? we are left naked and desolate, crying to God as those of Jerusalem. 'Remember, O Lord, what is fallen unto us, our inheritance is

turned to aliens, and our houses to strangers. We are pupils without fathers.'"—p. 61.

If argument and indignant eloquence could avert the doom of Ireland, French would have succeeded; he points out with withering irony and irresistible force, the absurdity of looking upon the Puritans as loyal Anglicans. But it was convenient in after times, and even at the present day, to represent Cromwell's Puritans as "the loyal Anglicans" of Ireland—men, who after betraying and murdering the king, and expelling the Anglican bishops, betrayed Cromwell's son Henry, when it was their interest, and all became pious Episcopalians as soon as Charles ascended the throne. Never since Cain thought it his interest to kill Abel, has this earth known a body of men, who have triumphed so gloriously over every consideration, moral, social, and national, that interfered with their interest.

The object in calling the attention of the reader to the loyalty of the two venerable Catholic historians, is not that "*argumentum ad misericordiam*," which Catholics were obliged to use when they were struggling for emancipation; when there was no formula of Eastern serfdom which the Catholic slave did not habitually employ to conciliate his ascendant taskmaster. It is not in that spirit of slavish unconstitutional loyalty, that these good men are introduced, but solely to answer an objection made by some nervous old women to the publication of these books. They are terrified, those gentle instructors of the public, that Dominic O'Daly and Nicholas French should reappear and tell the Irish people, "we lived in an age when the powers of darkness were loosed against the Irish people, when cathedrals were converted into stables, and bishops and friars strung up in scores—we escaped the general carnage, and in the retirement of a foreign land, we gave a history of our sufferings—but though removed beyond the reach of the tyrant bigot, we preached allegiance." If this be dangerous food for the young Irish mind, it must have some very singular mode of digesting its lessons. It is not insinuated that these historians do not speak, as became them, of the persecutors and the martyrs. They do speak on those matters as become good Irish Catholics, and if any man say such things are not fit for the Irish people, he knows not what the Irish

people is. But the desire of conciliating the Irish aristocracy, has turned some of the strongest heads. If that aristocracy were an ornament to the empire—if it were identified with the Irish people—if it did not despise and hate them—if it were a “Corinthian” or any other capital—if it enjoyed *bona fide*, 16,000,000 rental, instead of Lord Mountcashel’s estimate, 3,000,000—it would be laudable to attempt to reclaim it, though their whole history proves that self-interest and terror, were the only apostles that could convert them. But in their present state, as a body, when the farmers of two provinces of the island, have as great an interest in land as the whole landed proprietary, when the journals of the empire have made the Irish aristocracy a bye-word for the scoffer, it is Irish generosity alone that could stand up in their defence. If the Union were repealed to-morrow, now that Ireland is bankrupt, what could be made of those bankrupt lords? Would they give you a good poor law and a tenant right? Let those two measures be passed, and the Irish aristocracy are not true to their history, if in some few years, the Catholics and Liberals of Ireland, be not the real, the sole conscientious supporters of British connexion.

For a history of this modern Irish aristocracy the reader is referred to two unprejudiced authorities, Dean Swift and Bishop Berkeley—men whom inclination and principle would lead to give a favourable view. The nervous language of the first never exhibits its terrible power so effectively as when pouncing on the landlords—“who never built a mansion on their properties, nor a church, nor school, nor any public institution; who saw thousands of miserable serfs die every day of cold and hunger, and filth and famine; who squeezed their rents out of the very blood and vitals and clothes and dwellings of tenants, who had neither shoe nor stocking to their feet, nor a house as good as an English hog-sty to receive them; who cried out to the tenant with Pharaoh, ‘Ye are idle, ye are idle, O Israelites,’ when he wanted them to make bricks without straw.” All the Irish writings of that extraordinary man give the same horrid picture;* and even the gentle

* “Another great calamity is the exorbitant raising of the rents of land. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate, if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up

Berkeley—the man who was a century in advance of his age—describes the aristocracy of his time as “Goths in ignorance,” spendthrifts, drunkards, and debauchees. The result was such as might be expected; for with the exception

to a rack-rent—leases granted but for a small number of years—tenants tied down to hard conditions—and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of the lease, *proportionately to the improvements they shall make.* Thus it is that honest industry is restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; it is well if he can cover his family with a coarse home-spun frieze. There are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty? We are apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed, but then we do not consider that they have nothing to do. With due submission to Sir William Temple's profound judgment, the want of trade with us, is rather owing to the cruel restraints we lie under, than to any disqualification whatsoever in our inhabitants.”

The present miserable state of Ireland.

“As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, generally leave things worse than they are, neither succeeding in trees nor hedges, and by running into fancy of grazing, are every day depopulating the country. But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer, for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey in Ireland, would be apt to consider himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; *the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins,* and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness, upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hogsty to receive them, these indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwelling of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to his majesty that they were forced to make bricks without straw.”

Short View of the State of Ireland.

“A great cause of this nation's misery is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressive, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live

of what tenant-right did for the North, and industrious merchants effected in the towns, and '82, that moonlight on a ruin, in one or two cities and on a few estates, the landlords have left no more traces of their presence on the Irish soil, than the followers of Genseric from their arrival in Carthage to their expulsion by Belisarius. They have had Ireland their own way during the last 200 years, but now they are like the brave Dalgais, who, on their return from the field of Clontarf, could not stand without stakes to fight a petty prince of Ossory. This language some people will call bigotry; but it is plain historic truth, told at an awful crisis, when the Irish people starve, and the empire pays ten millions to alleviate a calamity, which Ireland alone could have grappled with, if Irish proprietors (as a class), relying on the connivance and support of the people of England, had not grossly neglected their duty. But the day of retribution is at hand. Many persons were called prophets with less reason than Nicholas French, who foretold that England would one day for her own sake deal out a measure of tardy but summary justice on the heads of the offenders. When O'Daly is so severe on his own beloved Geraldines, what would he have said of the murderous Irish aristocracy?

under them should make bricks without straw; who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own with a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in the whole month, by which the spirits of the people are broken and made fit for slavery; the farmers and cottagers through the whole kingdom, being to all intents and purposes as real beggars, as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the kingdom—by which numberless families have been either forced into exile, or stroll about and increase the number of our thieves and beggars.”—*Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland.*

Elsewhere he writes, “no one builds except in towns,” and “every day thousands are dying of cold and famine, and filth and vermin.” Such was Ireland a century ago, as described by a Protestant minister. Such the system supported by English connivance. The world knows the little change a century has effected. It were well that some of those literary gentlemen who make public opinion, studied those elegant extracts. Of course, this censure on the present landlords, applies only to “*the mob of Irish proprietary, who revel at English watering places,*” as they have been designated by a respectable resident proprietor.

"Nor do I know how to account for the overthrow and extermination of the Earls of Desmond, when I reflect on all that they did and endured for religion, save by attributing both to the inscrutable ways of God; perhaps some awful delinquency of theirs brought down his vengeance, for He is most just, and punishes those who transgress his laws. If you are curious enough to investigate their crime, consider how James Fitzthomas, Earl of Desmond, was murdered in his castle of Rathkeale, as some suspect by his brother John. Again, recal the horrid murder of James Fitzmaurice, perpetrated by Maurice Desmond in the days of Henry the Eighth. Should this not satisfy you, I would have you ponder on all the cruel acts of rapacity and blood committed against the McCarthy's. Now I have briefly narrated for you the history of the Geraldines, uninfluenced by love of party, solely motivated by love of truth. May then this history serve as a warning to the great ones of this world, teaching them to act justly in fear of God, and love for those who are humble in the world. On these virtues you may rear that edifice, whose summit, piercing the clouds, must ultimately reach the highest heavens."—p. 122.

Sofar from being alarmed at the publication of these works, men should thank the editor and translator for reviving and popularising the grand memories and endearing associations of the Anglo-Irish ages, when the mere Irish, the liege English, and the degenerate English, though always at war, and even carrying their hostility into the sanctuary, yet looked upon Ireland as their home, and in one half-century founded more valuable public institutions than their Elizabethan successors during 300 years. If there be one calamity to be deplored at this terrible time, it is, that the young gentlemen of Ireland, who have anything to lose, do not take a lesson from that party which some people call "Young England," and import their principles into Ireland. But Mr. Watson proposes the repeal of some obsolete statutes and insulting restrictions, and the great lights of the "*Irish party*"—the Hamiltons, Grogans, and Lefroys—they, wiser than Peel, Bentinck and Russell, insist that the Catholic Irish must still be flouted with the Orange rag—*Irish party*, indeed! "Sire, qu'est que ce que l'Etat?" "L'Etat?—c'est moi," dit Louis Quatorze. The Irish party, in plain English, is imperial money in the pockets of Messrs. Hamilton and Lefroy, with letters of marque against the Irish peasant. "L'Etat? c'est moi," says Mr. Lefroy.

One passage from Dr. French looks very like a pro-

phency. It was written after the confirmation of the "Act of Settlement" by Charles the Second.

"Your religion, noble countrymen, your religion is the sole crime for which you suffer; blessed for ever be the name of God!—Do not therefore fear all that men can do against you, while, with tears and patience, you march under the purple standard of crucified Jesus; for in the end, the day and victory will be yours. Fear not the power of men in this glorious trial, there be more with you than against you—legions of Angels, though you see them not, whose heavenly hosts are pitching their tents round about you. He that led the children of Israel out of Egypt in wonders through the Red Sea, never wants power to deliver you: wait for his good time, for he will come."

There is nothing in Dr. French's writings which would lead us to think that, even in his day dreams, he had any presentiment of what his beloved country was destined to do in extending his Church. Ireland alone—the green isle of the West—preserving the Faith, in spite of persecution, was the grandest vision that cheered his exile. Little could he imagine the day when the Catholic student in a royal college in Ireland, could count up his class-fellows preaching the Catholic faith in every quarter of the globe—those who knelt with him before the same altar, and partook, side by side, of the same sacred bread; now toiling in the snows of Canada, or the tropical regions of the East and West Indies, or the New Europe of the South Sea, or numerous other settlements on which commerce or ambition has planted the British standard. He could not have anticipated how his poor countrymen, exiled by misery or persecution, would aid in Catholicising America, and founding Catholic churches in England, thus binding Ireland to the empire by that very principle which conquered persecution—the most active, the most tender, the most enduring principle that has ever swayed the Irish heart—the love for the Church. And least of all, could he have hoped that the descendants of his prostrate confederates would recover their liberty without the sacrifice of their ecclesiastical independence, and be proposed as a model to Europe by the preacher appointed by Pius IX. "You shall not go to Rome on the canonization of the Saints," says Austria to her bishops; "You shall not hold a council, nor stir from your diocese, without my leave," says France; "You shall live on a poor pension,

like the policeman," says Spain; "You shall be nominated or vetoed by us," say all. But the Irish Church is free—in a land of constitutional freedom. May her liberty be immortal! Her missionaries once diffused the light of literature and piety over a great portion of Europe—may she not, in this Erastian age, be destined for a still more noble European mission—a more brilliant wreath for the imperial diadem than all the trophies from Cressy to Waterloo?

ART. VII. — *The Catholic Christian's Guide to the Right Use of Christian Psalmody and of the Psalter.* By the REV. H. FORMBY. London, Richardson, 1847.

WHATEVER side a person may be inclined to take in the "vexata quæstio" of ecclesiastical music, the very great interest which that subject is exciting at the present moment, is at any rate a circumstance from which those who love the Church will be disposed to draw comfort and encouragement. And this for more than one good reason. How thankful may we Catholics well be, that our own little internal controversies are of so useful, and that they are, at the same time, not of a more vital, character; that they steer clear of all which touches the precious deposit of the Faith, on the one hand; on the other, that they actually do relate to matters of great practical and abiding interest, and are such as can hardly fail to issue in results to the Church which all good men must be delighted to anticipate. What a contrast in *both* these respects do our own "internal controversies," so to call them, present to those by which a neighbour-communion has now for a length of time been agitated! When an impartial observer hears of the questions which rend the Established Church of England in pieces, he is at a loss whether most to wonder at their greatness or at their littleness. That a religious body should go on being "divided against itself" upon points of such sovereign moment as the nature and office of the Church, or the essential character of the Sacraments, this fact to any

Catholic of any time or country must be alone decisive against all claims which that body may set up to be accounted an integral part of the great Christian Community dispersed throughout the world. Yet hardly less conclusive in the same direction is the fact, that these differences on the fundamentals of the Faith seem to operate less towards the practical disunion of parties than do certain rubrical questions of the most utterly subordinate description, such as whether clergymen shall preach in black or in white, read offertory sentences where there is no offertory, or bow to the communion-table under an express protest against the doctrine which alone gives to such acts of reverence their obvious meaning and true symbolical importance.

We are far indeed from questioning that other subjects are mooted in the Established Church of a kind different from these; more practical on the one hand, less fundamental on the other; such, for example, as the question which has drawn forth these observations, the relative excellence of different styles of church-music. Yet must we not forget our own great happiness and special privilege in having all *great* controversies closed up once for all to members of the Church by the determinations of an authoritative tribunal; and we will add, all lesser ones of the same class admitting of such decisions as good Christians can have no difficulty in obeying, whether or not their own individual judgment may always go along with them. In the confidence which so healthy a state of things must necessarily inspire, we are enabled to survey lesser differences with composure, and even to take part in them with comfort. Out of the Church, serious men, we should suppose, can never feel sure where they may not be drifted in the discussion of questions, bearing even indirectly upon religion. In the Anglican body this remark appears peculiarly true. For seldom does it happen, as far as we can see, that the parties who differ on the subordinate subjects are thoroughly at one upon the more essential; indeed, one great reason of the incessant occurrence and interminable nature of the disputes which prevail, is plainly the impossibility of finding common ground in first principles. Here then, is our own happy distinction from all sectarian communities. Differ as we may in minor points, we can never stray far from the path of the Church without finding ourselves on rough roads, amid

tangled brakes, and in indifferent company—symptoms of deflexion which must always be enough to put good men upon retracing their steps.

Subject to such limitations as membership in the Church must always impose, animated discussions, such as that now so rife amongst us, upon the relative claims of Plain Chant and Harmony, are evident tokens of healthy vigour and auguries of sure improvement. Active minds will work and wrestle on something; and happy should the Church esteem herself when the spirit of reformation takes so innocent and useful a shape as the desire of abolishing secular strains and innovating upon orchestral abuses! Reformations these, which savour more of Councils than of Diets, of Trent than of Augsburg. Since wars we must have, well is it for us that our high contending parties should range themselves under banners so venerable as those of St. Gregory and Palestrina; and that if those wars must lead to bloodshed or to capture, the sacrifice should be no more costly than that of organists and prima donnas.

But the present controversy on the music of the Church, besides being symptomatic and ominous of good from its own very character, will, as we hope and believe, be in the end productive of more practical advantage than is the case with all controversies. That there are grave abuses still extant in England in this department of the external service of Almighty God, is a fact which may be safely affirmed without any want of regard to the real difficulties which stand in the way of improvement, or of thankfulness for the important steps in the right line which a few years have witnessed; and it is scarcely possible that the whole subject should undergo so thorough a revision as is now in progress without leading to the gradual but sure correction of the evils which are coming to be very extensively deplored. Whatever differences may exist as to styles of music, there seems a considerable and growing *consensus*, as to the necessity of some radical change in the *manner* of conducting this portion of divine worship—indeed, in the very essay which we have announced at the head of our article, and in other publications of the same kind, we find the more ancient modes advocated far less as a matter of musical taste, than on account of their tendency to religious edification on the part of singers and hearers. This is a most encouraging circumstance; the more so as

we find no disposition in the chief partisans of harmonized music to overlook the same class of considerations. The question therefore very much reduces itself to one of means; for on the great principle, that all should be done "*ad majorem Dei gloriam*," we are thankful in believing that there is no difference of opinion. One cause of this happy unanimity is doubtless to be found in the fact, that the contending parties are either clergy, or laymen distinguished even in an age of improvement, like our own, for their devotion to the Church.*

Mr. Formby, whose work forms the text of our article, is one of that zealous little company of recent converts to the Church, from whose enthusiasm in her service, by whatever natural mistakes or misconceptions thwarted, most happy results, we confidently trust, may with good reason be promised to England. Of Mr. Formby's volume a considerable portion was, as he informs us, prepared before his renunciation of the Protestant religion—to which, in spirit at least, he has probably never conformed. Like others of the converts, he brings to us qualifications for the task of an observer which no length of connexion with the Church could supply, and which are in themselves no mean compensation to their possessor for the want of that incommunicable and transcendent privilege which they enjoy who "*have ever been*," like the elder son in the parable, in the bosom of the tenderest and most watchful of parents. For what is it which, under the Divine blessing, has drawn these scattered sheep into the Fold of the Church? What, indeed, but the fruit of long and patient meditation on her true nature

* While these sheets are passing through the press, we have received permission to announce a forthcoming "*Catechism of Plain Chant*," from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Crookall, of St. Edmund's College. The high musical reputation which this gentleman has brought with him from Rome, added to his experience as director of the choir in a college long distinguished for the cultivation of the genuine ecclesiastical chant, cannot fail to secure to this manual a welcome reception on the part of teachers as well as students, of the sacred science on the elements of which it treats. "*The Chorister's Gradual*," by Mr. Ambrose Phillipps, a name beloved of all who have a heart to glow at the thought of noble deeds of Christian piety and munificence, also reaches us too late for more than this summary notice.

and office in the world, resulting in a conviction, not to be disregarded without peril, of the essential correspondence of the Roman Communion with that high and cherished type? They come to us, therefore, with ideas of the Church fresh drawn from the purest sources; from her consecutive annals, from the history and writings of her Saints, from the contents and tenour of her own immortal liturgies. This gives a depth and spirit to their views of her character and obligations, which renders their accession to our communion at the present moment a peculiar mark of the Divine goodness towards us; and in this light we are rejoiced to feel that the recent conversions are extensively regarded by the English Catholic body.

The set-off against this advantage on the side of converts would undoubtedly be found, did it exist, or in so far as it exists, in a certain want of pliancy, or of forbearance, not unlikely to befall zealous men coming into a new system with high abstract ideas of perfection, unmodified as yet by the wear and tear of experience. And certainly in the case of any religious system, except the Church, this liability had been quite sure to work consequences perilous alike to the system and to the individuals thus suddenly imported into it. No where else could we have escaped the dangers of so heterogeneous a combination of elements. "*Ne mittas vinum novum in utres veteres; alioquin dirumpit vinum utres et vinum diffunditur.*" Wonderfully has this saying of Divine Wisdom been illustrated in the case of the communion which has lately yielded us so rich a harvest! But it should excite the thankfulness of Catholics and the marvel of all, to behold how the Church has at once subdued and appropriated these active spirits, of foreign growth, yet not of foreign nature; how they have been, as chemists would say, "taken up" into her composition; how their little pardonable eccentricities rectify themselves under the fostering hand of their new Mother, without consciousness on their own part or violence on hers. O marvellous Economy indeed! O gracious Rule, strict without severity, supple without weakness—how constraining, yet how gentle, how transforming, yet how unfelt! A zealous convert from Anglicanism to the Church has no erratic tendencies which the strong *centripetal* influence to which he becomes at once subjected has not power, in all but extraor-

dinary and anomalous cases, to counteract and regulate. The dispensation of grace provides no security, any more than the economy of Nature, against the possibility of exceptional cases; there are comets in the heavens; there were rebels in the Angelic choir; shall we wonder that there are also apostates from the Church? Yet, so far liker to the order of the celestial hierarchy than to the course of the natural world, there is in the Divine Economy, no place or provision for eccentric orbits. The Church has a wonderful power of smoothing down inequalities and rounding off edges. A man is here under law, or he is an outlaw. In the Church, all is orderly, equable, and uniform. What has capacities of shining, shines in her sphere, not fitfully but evenly; what tends to protrude finds its place—to mount without ballast, its level, to fly off into space, its circle of order, its function of duty, its ministry of obedience.—And now to our more immediate task.

The excellent author of the “Guide to the right use of Christian Psalmody,” has long been distinguished, even among his former contemporaries, for bold and original views. His “Travels in the East,” published several years back when he was still an attached member of the Anglican Church, were characterized at the time by a Periodical not less remarkable for its fairness of tone than for its brilliant ability, and which, however justly severe against cant, shallowness, and heresy, was always sensitively alive and tenderly considerate towards real merit, and purity of intention—as “original even to eccentricity and to the very verge of paradox and overstatement.”* Strong language this for the *British Critic*, when speaking of a writer so religious, and in the main catholic-minded, as Mr. Formby. Strong language for so equitable and indulgent a censor; yet mild withal, when it is discovered that the extravagances hinted at, are nothing less than symptoms of that strange infirmity by which other noble minds besides that of our excellent author have been occasionally beset—an admiration of Mahometanism! Now this illustrates what we have just said about the controlling and rectifying power of the Catholic Church. No sooner does Mr. Formby find himself among us, than his

* *British Critic* for October, 1843.

very originalities assume an innocent, not to say a venerable aspect. Driven for awhile upon sympathy even with a form of Antichrist, by the favourable contrast which it doubtless presented to that still worse form of the same deadly power with which he was familiar from his youth—the heresy of Luther and Cranmer—what wonder if he should have given vent to his feelings under a system which provides neither safeguard against the extravagances of speculation, nor check to the license of speech? Who is not rather disposed to admire the frankness of the avowal than to comment with the requisite severity upon the strangeness of the fancy? Now, however, by divine mercy, a Catholic, Mr. Formby has learned that he need not travel to the East, in quest of self-renouncing devotion, and lowly reverence, and zeal for the places and ceremonies of divine worship: Now knows he, that, beautiful as is the outer vestment of the King's Daughter, her real glory is all within; and that it is not travellers, how religious soever, who obtain even so much as a glimpse into her penitential and devotional depths, but they alone who rest on her bosom, and drink of her treasures—"quibus revelat secreta cœlestia."

The little volume upon which we are at present engaged, is characterized, as we have already hinted, by all the originality, but far less than the eccentricity, of its Anglican predecessor. Eccentric and paradoxical it is, as one or two extracts, we think, will abundantly demonstrate; but, with all its strangeness, it is the work of a Catholic, which Mr. Formby's former volume evidently was not. And, what is much more than this, we will say, that it is a book calculated, with all its exaggeration, to do good service to the Church. Indeed, that portion of it which enters, though too briefly, upon the Christian use of the Psalms—a subject not quite foreign to our own pages*—appears to us to be singularly instructive, as well as not a little beautiful. From first to last, too, the volume gives evidence of a thoughtful and deeply religious mind; and, as to the more directly practical part of it, although we must feel that Mr. Formby sketches his principles of music in somewhat of caricature, yet the principles themselves are

* See in the Number for January last, on the "Devotional Use of the Breviary."

in the main right and good, and their very excesses are, so to say, on "virtue's side;" suggested by a deep and noble spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Roman Church, which should go far, with all good Catholics, to atone for what is occasionally grotesque and startling.

Mr. Formby's little work, to go now to its structure and composition, is thrown into the form of question and answer, and consists of two rather distinct portions; of which the first relates to Psalmody, strictly so called, and the second to the contents and objects of the Psalter. The order and regularity of the work might seem to have been better consulted by a reverse arrangement; as it is, the more technical part has, apparently, the advantage in position over the more instructive and devotional. This, however, is a small matter; and such a disposition may have been rendered necessary by the compendious and elementary nature of the treatise. Moreover, although the second portion is the higher in dignity, and perhaps not the least conspicuous for usefulness, the precedence given to the more technical branch of the subject is to be explained by the circumstance of the accidental interest at present attaching to it. The catechetical plan of the work gives the author an opportunity of setting forth the objections to his view, which he has done, on the whole, with more fairness than is usual with authors who answer themselves, but, from the nature of his plan, with more brevity than the vast importance of the subject requires.

Mr. Formby's argument is a very simple one. There are, as he contends, two kinds of church music actually in use, one of which alone possesses ecclesiastical authority. The Plain Chant, he would say, is the proper Song of the Church; authorised by her formal sanction, and commended by the practice of her saints. The harmonized and figured music was an innovation upon established practice, which over and above grave intrinsic objections lying against it, has no authority but from use, has been actually discarded by many good and great men, and, above all, does not reckon the name of a single canonized Saint among its composers or its patrons.

Mr. Formby's line of objection to the figured music is not a new one. It is precisely the same with that which the illustrious Suarez notices, and as we think satisfactorily answers. Whatever may be said against complicated harmonies or florid accompaniments in church upon

intrinsic grounds, we do not, we confess, see how the actual practice of the Church even at the centre of her dominion, and of course very extensively in other places, can be got over, as at any rate a qualifying feature in the argument from authority. But let us hear Suarez in answer to Navarre, a rigorist of his day. "It is a sufficient argument," says that great divine, "that this use (of organic, or figured music) is retained throughout the Church; and that, in the very Church of Rome itself, and in the chapel of the Supreme Pontiff, the divine offices are sung after this manner."* The illustrious author proceeds to comment, as strongly as any one, upon the danger of excesses and abuses; only he does not seem to feel either with the objectors of his day, or with some writers of the present time, that the artificial music is intrinsically mischievous, any more than that it is ecclesiastically irregular. On the contrary, he goes so far as to consider that the edification of the people may be effectually promoted by the cautious and well ordered use of ornament in the music of the Church, just as by the elegancies of composition or the graces of delivery in a sermon. As to the latter parallel, an objector might reply, that the words of the divine office are sacred words such as art cannot heighten and may disgrace, and that they are so far unlike the words of a mere preacher. Still we think that there is danger, and we shall presently say why, in drawing the line too tight.

At any rate, the argument founded on actual practice appears quite irrefragable, as against the charge of disobedience or undutifulness, which our author more than insinuates against the introducers of harmony. Thus,

"It is undoubtedly," he says, "the act of a heretic in principle, when the Church has formally declared herself, and put forth certain songs as songs of the saints, for an individual to take no account of her judgment, but to proceed to make his own choice as if no such judgment existed."—p. 21.

In answer to the obvious objection, that "when there is liberty there is no room for heresy," he rejoins—

"The use of song in Divine worship cannot be a matter of abso-

* *De Oratione Vocali*, Lib. iii. c. 8.

lute liberty, any more than it cannot be, like the matter of the sacraments, absolutely fixed."—p. 21.

But the question is, whether, to a certain extent, it be not so. Farther on he compares the introduction of other music than that of the Gradual and Antiphonal, to the exposition of unauthorized relics:—p. 22.

In all this there appears to us, we confess, to be not a little confusion, as well as a great deal of scarcely harmless exaggeration. Is not Mr. Formby mixing up two distinct things; the principle of deviation from the pure ecclesiastical chant, on the one hand, and on the other, the admission of styles and performances *in themselves* irreligious? He seems to us to be unconsciously employing a just prejudice against music of a certain description, unhappily too rife in England as elsewhere, to help him out in the defence of his inflexible theory. If Mr. Formby means to say that there is no medium between keeping exclusively to Plain Chant and running into vicious excesses, that is another matter; but even here the harmonists would come down upon him by appealing to Palestrina and the Pope's chapel as proof positive that such a medium is practicable, and that it has the warrant of sufficient experience to prove it a real and not a merely imaginary line of demarcation.

Objectors will in fact urge, and as we think fairly enough, that it is one thing to contend against excesses, and another to close, once for all, with the Plain Chant. And they will say, accordingly, that Mr. Formby presses his examples farther than they will bear. For instance, that of Cardinal Cajetan, who said that "some music is so unfit to be offered to God that nothing but invincible ignorance can excuse the persons offering it from mortal sin." (p. 22.) A severe judgment certainly, yet, for all we can see, a perfectly just one, though still not quite to Mr. Formby's purpose. But again, it is a great deal more than doubtful whether another of Mr. Formby's authorities, Cardinal Capranica, was speaking of figured music in general, or *as such*, when he compared the singing of his day to the "grunting and squeaking of little pigs," for whose noise no man was the wiser. (p. 27.) The story is from Baini's *Life of Palestrina*, and was long ago noticed in Dr. Wiseman's *Lectures on the Holy Week*. Now, considering the state of ecclesiastical music at the time,

the real meaning of this somewhat uncomplimentary, but very expressive, comparison is not hard to discern. Baini gives the following specimen of the masses then in vogue. "They would write, for example, a mass, taking as a subject, the melody of the Gregorian Ave Maria. Three parts in the harmony would sing portions of the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, at the same time, while a fourth would take up at intervals the entire Ave Maria. And now," he continues, "for another instance; Palestrina's own first mass is called the 'Ecce Sacerdos Magnus.' At the first Kyrie comes in the treble with 'Ecce;' then follow immediately the tenor, contralto and bass, in the fugue style, with Kyrie Eleison, while the treble meanwhile goes on with the antiphon Ecce Sacerdos to the end."* It was in the midst of such vagaries that Cardinal Capranica lived, and although it is not said in so many words that he had an eye to them in his comparison of the pigs, yet we do not think it fair to press him into a sanction of the opinion, that

"Vocal music and harmony," (as such,) "rather disguises than conveys the meaning of the words sung, and thus violates the apostle's rule that Psalmody should speak to the understanding."—(Formby, p. 86.)

The "Harmonists" have undoubtedly an important fact against Mr. Formby in Palestrina himself. That great master, as we have often been told, arose in an age when the music of the Church was depraved nearly to the utmost extent of depravation. Not merely were the sacred words of the composition itself shaken together in "most admired confusion," but, as we have just seen, the words of other sacred pieces were foisted among them, so that they no longer expressed any one idea. Worse far; the gaps were even sometimes filled up with "snatches of old songs;" the ballads of the day, and those not always of the most unexceptionable kind.† When to these evils we add that of a light and voluptuous strain in the music

* *Memorie della Vita e delle Opere de Palestrina*, Vol. 1. c. 2.

† Baini, Vol. 1. c. 5. Well may Palestrina's biographer exclaim with virtuous indignation: Ohime! la casa santa di Dio! Ohime! Il luogo venerabile dell' orazione; Ohime! Il divin Sacrificio incruento. Ohime! L'irritata divina giustizia, che vibrar doveva già i fulmini dell' acceso furore.

itself, and a concourse of instrumental sounds making confusion worse confounded, who can wonder that such a state of things should have drawn down the satires of Cardinals, when in the end it provoked the anathemas of Popes? Truly when we consider the state of the ante-tridentine Church, we can never be sufficiently thankful for the reformation, (the internal and ecclesiastical reformation, of course, we mean,) of that most critical era; nay, and if we may ever feel gratitude for evil which is the cause of conspicuous good—for the extra-ecclesiastical movement also, in so far, and in so far only, as it turned the attention of the Church upon herself. At this juncture then, arose the illustrious Giovanni Pierluigi, called from his native town, Palestrina, that genius “pure as if angels had breathed into him their harmony, capable at once of conceiving, effecting, and maturing, the perfection of music, whose spirit seems ever since to have watched in guardianship over the choir which he taught.” Born in an age of the most vitiated taste, and himself, as appears from a foregoing anecdote, not quite exempt, at the opening of his professional career, from its unfavourable influences, his exalted and discriminating genius was guided to disentangle the sweet spirit of song from the mazes in which it was well nigh lost; and one transcendent essay of his master-hand it was which rescued his sacred art from the ban of the impending anathema. Who does not remember the interesting history? It was in 1564 that Pope Pius IV appointed a congregation to carry into effect the canons of the Council of Trent, proscribing the use of secular music. One of the members of that congregation was no less a person than St. Charles Borromeo, then arch-priest of St. Mary Major, who had become acquainted with Palestrina, then employed in the service of that church. On the 10th of January, 1565, the youthful composer was bidden to produce a Mass under two stipulations; first, that it should have no affinity to any profane air; secondly, that it should give effect to the sacred words. Upon the success of this experiment the composer was told, would depend the fate of harmonized church music once for all. By April, he had composed three masses. In the two first, amid great excellencies, his genius had been evidently cramped, and who can wonder? by the embarrassments of his situation. One chance yet remained—the third mass was performed on St. Peter’s

day, to the delight of all hearers, and the cause of harmony triumphed. This is the "Missa Papæ Marcelli," said to be still performed at the Sistine chapel on Holy Saturday.*

Such is the defence put in by the admirers of harmony, and, whatever else it may or may not prove, certainly it proves this, that concerted music kept its ground in the Church under circumstances the most adverse possible to its preservation—a conciliar decree all but condemnatory of it, a vigilant Pope, and a sensitive hierarchy; that it was retained, not hastily and capriciously, but after due consideration and fair trial—and, what we confess weighs more with us than any other consideration—not through the clamours of a multitude, or the representations of "cognoscenti," but through the interposition of a canonized Saint. And here, by the way, we will take another exception against Mr. Formby's rather sweeping enthusiasm.

"The chief authors and singers of the Plain Song upon earth, are among the Saints of the Church, who are known to be in heaven, and to intercede for us; on the other hand, the chief authors of harmony and figured music, are not only *unknown* to be in heaven, but in no few instances, to judge from their lives, are under considerable improbability of being ever admitted there."—p. 30.

Not denying for a moment the especial, and, we will add, the sacred interest which the Plain Song of the Church derives from the illustrious Saint, so dear to England, from whom it takes its name, we must yet remind our author that St. Charles Borromeo, Palestrina's patron, and St. Philip Neri, in whose arms he is said to have died, are names than which none can be more fitted to confer dignity and splendour upon any subject. Neither can we consider it a trivial fact that the figured music has found a champion in the great Suarez, as well as in so many others among the glorious sons of St. Ignatius—glorious alike for deeds of sanctity, and for the wisdom and learning of the schools.

That the ancient Saints of the Church lived in the daily

* Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on Holy Week. Since this article was in type, a valuable Paper on "Ecclesiastical Music," has appeared in the *Tablet* (of March 7th, 1847,) which goes over much of the ground now taken, with the advantage of far greater musical science.

use of her own sweet song, and died, if not with its notes on their lips, at least with its echoes in their ears—this, indeed, we gladly concede to our author; and a precious thought it is; but, considering that the resources of musical harmony are comparatively of recent discovery, it is rather obvious to ask, how the Saints of old could possibly have ennobled it by their sanction, or illustrated it by their example? If Mr. Formby can produce saints who would rigorously exclude from the Church, not light and secular strains alone, but figured music altogether, such instances would be, no doubt, to his point; but it is a fact, on the other side, that one of them, a canonized Saint, and others, holy Popes, none the less, we are assured, in the company of the blest above for lacking the veneration of the Church below, have persevered in waiving the prerogative by the exercise of which they might have banished Harmony, not merely from their own private chapel in the Vatican, but from every church within their spiritual dominions.

The more deeply, then, we sympathize with Mr. Formby's general predilections, and above all with the religious and ecclesiastical temper which is so conspicuous in his essay, the more earnestly must we deprecate that too positive tone in which he inveighs against the actual practice of half the Church, the very court of its sovereign not excepted. Mr. Formby will tell us, with the philosopher of old, that extremes are the proper correction of extremes; but that principle was never meant to be carried out to the prejudice of truth and fairness. More lukewarm advocates of Mr. Formby's cause would perhaps be more tolerant critics; for ourselves, we own to a strong apprehension lest the stiffness and apparent crotchettiness of his views should operate with many reasonable minds to the disadvantage of his argument.

"In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas," is the trite but golden maxim of St. Augustine. What we have to lament in Mr. Formby, as in others of the same antiquarian school, is a decided violation of the second of these conditions, and a consequent tendency to overlook the third. They first erect, arbitrarily and capriciously as we must feel, the "dubia" into the "necessaria," and then they are as intolerant of objections as if the Faith itself were at stake. How much of this enthusiasm may be a necessary condition of benefit to be done in these lukewarm days, we are not prepared to determine; neither

can we judge other men's consciences. Every one who acts *bonâ fide*, is doing the work of the Church sooner or later, and no man can act to any good purpose who does not act in his own way. Yet, speaking of things in the abstract, to narrow what Almighty God, if so be, has left open, is, we must think, only less harmful, though of course infinitely less perverse, than to throw open what He has shut up. The imputations of heresy and latitudinarianism, or, again, of Protestantism (which includes both), often unsparingly dealt out by our rigorists in ecclesiastical art against those who differ from them, are of far too solemn a nature to be cast around us in such light warfare. And yet it will be the natural consequence of erecting arbitrary tribunals, and forming imaginary standards, that we must look with an eye of suspicion and mistrust upon many whom the obligations of Christianity, and very especially the needs of the Church at the present juncture, require us to comprehend in the embraces of fraternal affection and sympathy.

We trust that we shall not here be understood to speak excepting of tendencies; still less to include the excellent writer with whom we are dealing so frankly, in the terms of any severe censure. That we are disposed to quarrel with some of his unbending principles, he will already have discovered: but we detect too many points of contact with him in all that is really most essential, to entertain any serious fears of permanent misunderstanding. Our own strong and ever strengthening conviction, meanwhile, is that, in the Catholic Church, nothing is unchangeable but what is *ruled*. Doctrine and morals in what is essential, and acknowledged to be essential to them, these are not of yesterday or to-day, that we can tamper or trifle with them at random; but as to all which belongs to the external framework of the Church, this is fixed so far only as it is generally or locally binding. But for the rest, "*Ubi Spiritus, ibi libertas*." In paradise our first parents were bound by a law, which proves indeed that the state of obedience is our greatest privilege and happiness. But law was the exception, liberty the rule. "*Of every tree in the garden thou shalt eat*." The same holds good in the Church, which is Paradise renewed. Here are varieties of disposition and taste, infinite as they are innocent; age differing from age, and nation from nation, and society from society, and man from man. One

great cementing principle binds all: the Church of Christ. From her narrow path not one may stray; her changeless law of faith and holiness not one may transgress with impunity; but, for the rest, there is liberty—till there is sin. Then, freedom must be retrenched; but, prior to abuse, “*possidet libertas*,” as the divines say; liberty is men’s right, because it is God’s gift. All this is, of course, quite compatible, or rather it is in direct harmony, with the principle of the Religious State, which is strictly remedial,—i. e., natural only in an imperfect dispensation.

We have strayed into deeper waters than we desire; but it has been in the hope of substantiating what might otherwise seem mere capricious objections to the line of rigour. It may be that we shall have succeeded only in bringing out still more radical differences with our respected author; but, even if so, we can reflect with comfort that one of the very liberties which the Church allows, is the liberty of ranging at will within the antipodes of the opposite moral systems which she embraces in her theology.

We shall now hope to make it more abundantly plain that it is not from Mr. Formby’s views that we dissent, so much as from his reasonings. We sympathize strongly with his musical preferences, and complain only that they are exclusive. In an article which appeared in the October number of this Review, and which sufficiently expresses our sentiments upon the question, the Plain Song of the Church was maintained against certain more popular styles, on the ground especially of its throwing out the sacred words to which it is applied, and of its giving greater scope than the figured music for an extensive union of the voices in the solemn intonation of the divine offices. We are happy to find that these sentiments are entirely borne out by the valuable opinion of Mr. Formby; and we are happy also in sharing with him, to a great extent, the preference of the Plain Chant over Harmony, on the special ground of high and venerable associations. Nor let us be understood as disparaging the actual authority with which the Plain Song comes before us in the Gradual and Antiphonal, where we interpose a claim for Harmony on the score of use, the prescription of three centuries, and the tacit sanction of every pontiff who has filled the chair of St. Peter, from Pius IV. to the reigning pope.

Indeed, far though we be from entering into all the arguments of Mr. Formby, we can infinitely less sympathize with some popular objections to the Plain Song. It is said to be uncouth; a remark which appears to us to be at once true and not true, or true of some specimens and not of others. Moreover, even where, or so far as, it is true, we are not sure that it amounts to a clear objection. We have heard it observed, even by eminent musicians, that there is a beauty in the characteristic song of the Church being strange, or, as Aristotle would say, *ξένον*, i. e., removed from common use; and we are not sure that the popular objection to the Plain Chant always goes beyond the length of saying that it is so. It is certain that whatever is true of the Plain Chant in this respect, is true also of the style of Palestrina, which is like nothing but itself. But when musicians object eccentricity to the Plain Chant, it is probable that they mean to include the idea of technical irregularity, a farther objection, the fact of which we are quite willing to take at their word.

That this latter charge of barbarism and solecism does not at any rate apply to all the music which goes by the name of Plain Chant, is evident from this, if from no other circumstance,—that a great deal of it admits of being expressed in the modern modes. Again, even the most unscientific hearer may detect a manifest difference, in point of melody, between some pieces of Plain Chant and others. Of true melody there cannot be any surer criterion than that a tune, to use the familiar expression, should “run in the head,” or could be expressed on an instrument by a person who plays only by ear. That this is the case with some of the most celebrated pieces of Plain Chant, is absolutely undeniable; from their simple form they can be easily transferred into sweet and beautiful airs, properly harmonized, which can afterwards be taken down in the modern notation. Say, as the rigorists perhaps will, that this is to change their character, so that they are no longer Plain Chant, still it is proof positive that the element of melody exists in their composition, which is all that we are at present concerned to establish.

How it happens that some pieces of Plain Chant have so much more of *air* in them than others, is a problem of which we have never yet heard quite a satisfactory solution. Certainly, however, the fact is so. All which comes into the Missal, for instance, is musical in the extreme. What

can be more exquisite in the way of melodious recitative than the Proper Prefaces, the Pater Noster, the *Ite missa est* for the several days, or the Litany of the Saints? This is music such as ravishes the sense, not perhaps at the first, but after the few first hearings. Or what more beautiful, as plaintive melody, than the authorized tone of the Lamentations in Holy Week? The "Exultet," too, on Holy Saturday; where shall we find music more sweetly eloquent, more instinct with the spirit of its theme? Indeed, considering the narrow boundaries within which, as objectors are prone to remind us, the Plain Chant is shut up, nothing, perhaps, is more wonderful than its variety and power of accommodating itself to the peculiar character of its subject. In the "Exultet," for instance, it can be wild and buoyant; in the *Veni Creator* solemn and affectionate; in the Lamentations, mournful as ring-doves by the waters; in the *Regina cœli*, gratulatory and respectful; in the Kyries of the Mass, tender and imploring. To subjects of unmixed jubilancy alone does it seem unequal; and this is why many who admire it are disposed to stipulate for some exception to its majestic simplicity in the case of the Gloria and Credo in the Mass. They ask, and not unnaturally: Was the Angelic Hymn on the night of the Nativity a solemn recital, or was it not rather a burst of joy?

It must never be forgotten, too, in estimating our obligations to those saints who "by their skill sought out musical tunes,"* that to the sources from which we derive the Plain Chant, we owe also the celebrated Psalm Tones. These are universally admitted to form the most appropriate of all vehicles of the sacred words, which, indeed, almost seem to choose them as their natural expression. Nor can anything, it is plain, be more groundless than the objection to these wonderful chants on the score of monotony: they differ, in fact, not less characteristically from one another, than all from those miserable counterparts, or imitations, which have taken their place in the Protestant cathedrals.

The great contrast which some of the pieces of Plain Chant just enumerated present to the ordinary run of Introits, Offertories, and Communions in the Gradual, as

* Eccl. xliv. 5.

well as to most of the Antiphons in the Antiphonary, is a feature in the case which we have already avowed our inability to explain. The most satisfactory account of the difference which we have heard is, that the original tradition may have been better preserved in the case of pieces in constant use, such as the Prefaces in the Mass, or the most familiar Hymns, than of those which occur less often. Whatever be the true explanation, there seems no doubt that, in much of the Gradual and Antiphony, the ordinary laws of music are more decidedly violated than in the other instances; so that, far from yielding an agreeable and even a striking melody, the average pieces which we derive from these sources are strange even to rudeness, and but very slowly grow upon the ear even of such as are predisposed in their favour. In these respects they must needs present, in the judgment of accomplished musicians, a remarkable contrast to the exquisite harmonies of Palestrina and his school; though persons who look in church music for the varied expression of sentiment rather than for either skilful harmony or melodious recitation, will continue to miss in the productions even of the school of Harmony the essential constituent of *air*; and to feel, even of its most finished performances, that they are more calculated to honour Almighty God as the Author of a wonderful gift to man, than by exciting a direct train of devotion in connection with the subject upon which they are employed.

We have our doubts whether the style of Palestrina will ever become extensively popular in this country. Accomplished musicians will admire it beyond all styles; but to the great body of church-goers, including even many who are highly sensitive to music, it will be apt to seem wanting in variety and expression. In point of solemnity and majesty, such as befit the worship of the sanctuary, it would be undoubtedly a great step in advance upon our present attainments; but we are not altogether sure that those who dislike the levity and flippancy of much of the actual church-music, would not be glad that while we are on the move, we should go a step farther, and take up with the simple and venerable tones of the ancient Church. The great *moral* advantages which the Plain Chant possesses in comparison even with harmonized, and still more with ornamental music, were so fully stated in a former article to which allusion has already been made, that it will be

needless to dilate upon them anew; indeed it is almost self-evident, that the more entirely voices are lost, as to their separate individuality, the more effectually will the opportunities of exhibition be cut off, and along with the opportunities of exhibition, the temptations to vain-glory. The music of Palestrina, and his school has the great advantage over that of later composers, that it gives but limited scope for such display; but the Plain Chant gives none. And however little we may be able to follow Mr. Formby into all his conclusions, still we are disposed to feel with him, that there is a certain sacred *prestige* about the older music of the Church, which commends it to the hearts of religious people beyond other kinds; whether because from the very length of time over which it ranges, it must necessarily reckon *more* Saints and holy men and women among its promoters, or whether because it has been especially the chant of monasteries and convents, or whether because it is in truth the prolonged echo of those strains which angels revealed to the holy exile of Patmos, or whether from its conformity to some high ideal type which grows into distinctness with the growth of the spiritual man, or whether for any other unexplained reason, we do not pretend to decide.

But at any rate, looking on the one hand, to the miserable state of church-music among us, and on the other, to the strong preference with which many holy men of the present day, and they no mean judges of music either, are known to regard the Plain Chant even in its severer form, we do think there is ground for wishing that it might be effectivly carried out, if it were but in the way of experiment alone, in some one or two churches. We are fully alive to the difficulties which would beset any such attempt under ordinary circumstances; "prima donnas," would have to be replaced by precentors, and ladies in pink bonnets, by holy youths in surplices; we should have to upset those orchestral autocracies which, in some parts of England, are said to "push" our very clergy "from their stools;" all this would have to be done and more besides; but all this will have to be done any how as time goes on, and the only remaining question is, by what kind of musical arrangements the present deplorable regime is to be superseded. If persons with whom it does not rest to settle such questions, may hazard an opinion, it may be allowed us to doubt whether the taste of the public at

large, is likely to be corrected by any sudden and violent shocks; we mean, of course, as to *styles* of church-music, because all would probably agree, that in rectifying abuses of a moral and religious description, there should be no measure, and as little as possible of delay.

But if other styles of music less startling to the popular taste, must still be allowed, at least for the present, their sway, we do not see why the poor despised Plain Chant may not come in, at least for its share in the general competition—even though it were only upon the acknowledged principle of breaking up monopolies. Mozart and Haydn have had their day, and a long one too; the “Gloria No. 12,” has become part and parcel of St. Mary’s Moorfields, almost as much as its own admired sanctuary; be it so; but in the present advancing state of musical science, why may not Palestrina be expected to assert his ground in England; and if Palestrina, why not also St. Gregory?

We suspect that as the Plain Song of the Church comes to be more known, it will triumph over many of the difficulties which are supposed to stand in the way of its introduction. Hitherto it has come before our people only in scraps, and those but indifferently represented. The fact is, that it can never be understood, far less appreciated, till it is heard in something like perfection; and to this a great deal more is requisite, than actually existing means and appliances will easily allow. One of these requisites is, that it should be sung by ecclesiastics, or at any rate, by persons whose training and mode of life give some sufficient guarantee for the ecclesiastical spirit. The exclusion of women, is of course absolutely necessary to the propriety of any choral arrangements whatever; but the Plain Song of the Church has moreover some very real, however undefinable, relationship to a cassock and a Roman collar—not to say a surplice. Moreover its due effect depends so materially upon a considerable body of voices being enlisted in the service of the choir, that such conditions as it requires in the individual, will have, (which is a fresh difficulty,) to be fulfilled in a number. Meanwhile, what is lost in one way, (so to speak,) might be gained in another; because just in proportion as we multiplied our ecclesiastics in the choir, might we be able, if need should so demand, to dispense with those very costly and often troublesome appendages of a church—the organ and the organist. If organist there be, (to sound at any rate

the note of solemn joy on some high festival,) why, in order to remove all difficulties, we would have him an ecclesiastical person also.

All this, we shall be reminded, is more easily said than done; an obvious answer, which we meet by observing that to say things, and especially under a system so powerful and active as that of the Church, is not seldom the preliminary to something more effectual. With a zealous clergy, a generous laity, and a vigilant administration, what may not be done that it is right and good to do? What may not be done that conduces to the glory of God and the edification of souls, where there is a common Faith, a far-stretching tradition, a thrilling sympathy, a controlling centre, the Church Catholic, and the Communion of Saints?

It will be said, however, that such conditions as we have sketched, imply a very different state of things from that which we actually see around us; for instance, that they imply something like bodies of clergy living together under their bishop in this or the other large manufacturing town, with power to do a great many things well, that are at present either apt to be done imperfectly, or even to be left undone for want of means; such, for example, as holding missions, giving retreats, and in other ways getting at the hearts of Englishmen as Englishmen alone can do; and among the rest, and certainly not as one of the least important objects, carrying out the solemnities of divine worship in such a form as fairly to represent the Church in her relations with Almighty God as well as with His people. We answer, that it is no part of our calling to point out *means* of carrying out improvements in the Church, though a part of that calling it assuredly is, and one from which we will not swerve, to supply an index of public feeling upon moral and religious subjects.

Even supposing that the complete reformation of church music which is beginning to be called for, should involve or entail some such accompaniments as we have just imagined, what then? But in truth it does not seem, as far as we can judge, to depend upon any remote or arduous contingencies. We have heard of great things which have been already done in the neighbourhood of London and elsewhere, by clergy really bent upon the work, and competent from musical taste, if not science, to undertake the office of direction and control. Every church and chapel

has, or is probably in the way to have, its dependent school; every school contains boys with such musical capacities, at all events, as a shrewd observer may detect, and a moderately skilled musician can easily bring out. It is not unlikely, that these pupils as they grow older, would retain enough of their interest in an occupation in which all well-disposed boys take interest, to unite in little associations or confraternities, for assisting in the choral duties, or in such other lower ministries as the priest might assign them. In this way many a pious youth, such as are found in every Catholic congregation with which we are acquainted, might even come in time under the bishop's eye, and give tokens of a vocation to the service of the altar. But our object we cannot repeat too often, is rather to sketch principles than to point out means, which will never be wanting where there is the will to seek them.

Meanwhile it is pleasant to reflect, that some congregation, present or possible, will benefit by the supervision of a priest so thoughtful, learned, and devoted as Mr. Formby; and that he will have the opportunity of inculcating upon the members of his choir, great as well as small, such lessons of religious wisdom as his interesting little work contains—for we are led to infer from the prefix to his name on his title-page, that he has already taken the first decisive step in the Catholic ministry. Happy boys indeed will they be, do they but know their happiness, who shall be educated in the special work of the angels, upon principles such as are commended to us in the following beautiful enumeration of the “ways in which a CHRISTIAN may feed and increase his love and zeal for the exercise of divine psalmody in the Church.”

“I. By being determined resolutely to believe in what the Scripture says of the blessedness of the exercise.

“II. By a devout and thankful daily practice of it, as opportunity shall permit, ‘for to him that hath shall be given.’

“III. By meditating upon all that the Christian Saints and theologians have said respecting Psalmody, as their words may occur to him, as, for instance, what is said of the power of Christian music by a very recent author: ‘Yet, is it possible, that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes—so rich, yet so simple—so intricate, yet so regulated—so various, yet so majestic—should be a mere sound which is gone and perishes? Can it be, that those mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearn-

ings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No, they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound; they are echoes from our home, they are the voice of angels, or the Magnificat of Saints, or the living laws of Divine governance, or the Divine attributes; something they are besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter—though mortal man, and he, perhaps, not otherwise distinguished above his fellows, has the gift of eliciting them.*

"IV. By meditating upon the example of the blessed Mother of God, who has given a song to the Church.

"V. By considering that Psalmody is the gift of the angels who have not sinned, given back to man who has sinned, and is now under reconciliation, purchased by the death of Christ.

"VI. By bearing in mind what is revealed of music, as the present employment of angels above, and the future employment of those that shall be saved.

"Also, duly to meditate upon some parts of the Book of Revelations, which reveal this to us, (Rev. chap. xv. 28, xix. 5, &c.) would, with the grace of God, lead to a devout sense, how great a blessing has been restored to the earth in the giving back of Divine Psalmody, which was lost at the Fall, and the great need of a holy and religious life, abounding in prayer and good works, that the pleasure which we now taste in the courts of the Lord's house on earth, in part, and with many imperfections arising from our sins, we may, by the mercy of God, and for JESUS CHRIST'S sake, be counted worthy to taste in fulness in heaven among the multitude of the redeemed."—Formby, pp. 80-82.

ART. VIII.—*Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis, in Company with the late Rev. E. T. Daniell.* By Lieutenant T. A. B. SPRATT, R. N., F. G. S., of the Mediterranean Hydrographical Survey; and Professor EDWARD FORBES, F. R. S., of King's College, London. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1847.

IF the recent report that the Roman Jesuit, Father Secchi, has found a satisfactory key for the great literary puzzle of Egyptian hieroglyphics, should prove well

* This magnificent passage is from Mr. Newman's University Sermon on "Developements."

founded, the learned who delight in such investigations seem likely to find a tolerable substitute in the mysterious sepulchral inscriptions which the researches in Lycia have brought to light. The antiquities of this interesting province were hitherto supposed to stand in the same relation to Grecian (or Greco-Asiatic) civilization, in which the Etruscan remains stand to that of Rome. They were regarded as the work of a polished and powerful primeval people, who had been dislodged from their possession of the land by those tribes whom we find in occupation at the commencement of the historic period, but who had impressed upon it, during the time of their occupancy, evidences of their power, their resources, and their refinement, which neither the violence of conquest nor the jealous policy of the conquerors had succeeded in effacing. The origin of this aboriginal race, the precise date of their dislodgment, their subsequent history, and the country and extraction of their conquerors, have all supplied matter for curious speculation and conjecture; and men have been looking anxiously for the result of the researches made during the last few years, as likely to furnish some clue to the solution of one of the most curious and unsatisfactory problems in classic history. The volumes now before us are the fruit of the most recent examination of these remarkable remains. The authors have ventured to dissent from the commonly received opinion regarding their origin and the time of their construction; and as the subject is one of considerable interest, we shall endeavour to lay before our readers a condensed account of their investigations, and of the conclusions to which they have led.

It is but a few years since the attention of antiquarians was seriously turned towards this interesting country. It is true that Colonel Leake in the year 1800, and Captain Beaufort in 1812, visited and explored several of the ancient cities upon the Lycian coast. But their researches, and those of Mr. Cockerell, who afterwards accompanied Captain Beaufort, were confined exclusively to the coast-line; nor was it till 1838, and subsequently 1840, that the interior of the country was explored by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Fellows, whose name has since been inseparably associated with the subject by his successful exertions in securing the Xanthian Marbles for the British Museum.

The result of his representations was the expedition of H. M. surveying ship, *Beacon*, in January, 1842, for the

purpose of transporting these valuable remains to England. The authors of the present work were at that time attached to the Beacon, Lieutenant Spratt as surveyor, and Professor Forbes as naturalist; and their lamented friend, the Rev. Mr. Daniell, whose name is associated with theirs in the authorship of the volume, joined the expedition at Smyrna as a volunteer. On the departure of the ship in March of the same year, Messrs. Spratt and Forbes obtained leave to remain in Lycia for the purpose of exploring the country in company with Mr. Daniell, the labour being divided according to their respective tastes;—Mr. Daniell devoting himself to the antiquities, Mr. Spratt to the geography, and Mr. Forbes to the natural history of the country. Their actual success, in many respects, far exceeded their anticipations; but its literary value has been sadly marred by the early and lamented death of their fellow-labourer, Mr. Daniell, just as he had all but completed his allotted labour. His friends have associated his name with their own in the title of the work; and, with graceful and affectionate modesty, they avow in their preface, that, in the selection and arrangement of the materials, the absence of his guiding mind, peculiarly fitted by previous pursuits for such an office, has occasioned many a blank and many an imperfection, of which no one is more sensible than themselves.

The results of their joint researches cannot but be regarded as of great value. "No fewer than eighteen ancient cities, the sites of which had been unknown to geographers, were explored and determined, besides many minor sites. The names of no less than fifteen were identified by inscriptions found among their ruins." Of these not more than three or four had ever been described by any previous visitor, but the names of these had been mistaken, and the correction of the error of names is justly regarded as no less important than the first discovery. Among the number, too, are some of the most important, historically considered, in the entire province. Cibyra, the metropolis of the Cibyrate convention, whose commercial importance every schoolboy will remember;* Selge, a town of large population and great influence: and Termessus Major, which was powerful enough to check

* ————Cave ne portus occupet alter,
Ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas.

even the victorious arms of Alexander, are among the additions to our stock of geographical knowledge. The whole topography of the march of Alexander, and of that of the Roman army under Manlius, is another interesting acquisition for which we are indebted to the zeal and research of this enterprising triumvirate; and even in those sites which had been previously determined with accuracy, they have added a great deal to our stock of minute knowledge, and collected many data on which to rely with greater security in prosecuting the study of the antiquities of the country.

Among these data by far the most important are the so-called "Lycian" inscriptions, which are found in most of the cities of Lycia Proper. The earliest discovery of this class was made by Mr. Cockerell, many years since, and a considerable number of inscriptions were collected by Sir Charles Fellows, and also, more recently, by the German professors Schönbrun and Löw; but the number of all is trifling when compared with those copied by Mr. Daniell's party, who have brought home no less than two hundred Greek, and thirty Lycian inscriptions, almost all never copied before.

The most prominent question regarding the antiquities of Lycia which has presented itself to every explorer, is the origin of the race to which these antiquities are to be ascribed. It is a question on which ancient historians afford but little light. The Homeric account of Glaucus, Sarpedon, Pandarus, and their Lycian followers, tells us—if we except the mythic story of Bellerophon—nothing of the earlier history, and but little of the actual condition, of the country. The account of Herodotus, though more detailed, is scarcely more satisfactory. He tells that the Lycians came anciently from Crete under Sarpedon, and that at the time of their occupation of the territory, it was called by the name of Milyas. The tribes whom these colonists dispossessed, and drove to the mountain districts, were known by the name Milyæ or Solymi; the history of their struggle is recorded in Homer's myth of Bellerophon, and the district in which they settled continued to hold the name Milyas, which originally had belonged to the entire country. On the other hand, the conquering race were at this time, and even so late as the days of Herodotus, called by the name Termilæ or Tremilæ; and the name Lycii, according to that historian, originated

with "Lycus, the son of Pandion, who, having been driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, came among the Termilians, and was received by Sarpedon; and in course of time it happened that the name of this stranger was adopted by the people, who afterwards were called Lycians."

Such was the condition of Lycia, divided between the two races, the Termilæ and the Solymi, till the Persian invasion under Harpagus, the general of Cyrus. The city of Xanthus offered a most determined resistance; and the inhabitants, after burning the citadel, into which they had collected all their property, their slaves, and even their wives and children, fought to the last man against the invading army. Hence, at the time of Herodotus, the Xanthians (the old race having been utterly exterminated) were all, except forty families, of foreign extraction.

The subsequent history of the country is well ascertained—under its own independent confederacy, afterwards under the Lycian rule, and, lastly, after its connection with the Roman commonwealth. The difficulty lies in the early period. We find here the traces of at least three distinct races—the aboriginal (at least, as regards the historic period) Solymi; the Termilæ, or Lycians, (if the latter be not a new race of conquerors themselves,) who dispossessed them; and the "Strangers," of whom Herodotus speaks as settled at Xanthus, and who clearly must be the Persian colonists introduced by Harpagus.

The great question, then, which has engaged the attention of antiquarians, is,—To which of these three races are we to ascribe the remarkable rock-tombs, inscribed with the so-called Lycian characters, which are found in most of the ancient cities of Lycia and the Cibyratis, and the mysterious language in which these inscriptions are written?

It would appear all but certain, in the first place, that they cannot be the work of the original inhabitants, known as the Solymi. When these primeval possessors of the land were driven to the mountain fastnesses of the country, it is to be presumed that they would have brought with them all the customs and usages of their earlier home. Now in the province in which the Solymi or Milyæ took up their abode, there is not a single tomb discoverable inscribed with these Lycian characters, or possessing any of the characteristics of the so-called Lycian remains. The

difficulty, therefore, lies between the second race of conquerors, the Termilæ and the Persians, by whom they were dispossessed.

The received opinion among the learned had attributed these curious remains to the former people; and at first sight it would appear that the reasons were, if not conclusive, at least extremely probable. But the more careful and extensive observations of the recent explorers, have led them to the opposite conclusion. It is in this part of the work that we miss most the hand of Mr. Daniell, to whose province the enquiry had especially belonged; and the great learning as well as clear and solid judgment which are displayed in the few hasty and unfinished dissertations upon this and one or two kindred subjects, printed from his note-book in the course of the work, make us regret still more that he did not live to digest fully all the data which he had collected, and to arrange all the evidence in favour of the view to which he inclined.

But before we enter upon the discussion of the new theory propounded by Mr. Daniell and his friends, we must introduce the reader to the most remarkable of the discoveries which have given rise to so much speculation. We cannot but regret, however, that the description of the particular remains, and especially of those which are believed to belong to the first period, are not more minute and detailed. The authors appear to have been deterred by the fear of going over the ground which had been already traversed by Captain Beaufort and Sir Charles Fellows; but the omission, whatever may have been its cause, has made their work imperfect and unsatisfactory as an account of Lycia.

The general features of the ruins of Pinara, are well described—

“The next day was devoted to visiting the ruins of Pinara. Our expectations had been greatly raised respecting this wonderful city, by the account of it which we had received from Mr. Hoskyn, who had told us that it was the finest of all those in the valley of the Xanthus; and the little sketch given by its discoverer, had also excited our curiosity, but the reality far exceeded both the report and the picture. At about a quarter of an hour's walk from the village, we suddenly came upon a magnificent view of the ancient city, seated in a rocky recess of Mount Cragus. A stupendous tower of rock, faced by a perpendicular precipice, perforated with a thousand tombs, and crowned by ruined fortifications, rose out of a deep

ravine which was thronged with ruins and sarcophagi, and intersected by ridges bearing the more important edifices. Dark precipitous mountains of the grandest outlines overhung the whole. After gazing with astonishment at this wondrous scene, we plunged among the maze of ruins, making a hurried ramble through them so as to become acquainted with the localities of the site, intending to pay future visits for the purpose of more minute exploration. We first visited a fine theatre, excavated in the side of a woody hill, fronting the city. The Lycian theatres are invariably so placed as to command a grand prospect, or when by the seaside, a broad expanse of ocean. For a scene of rocky magnificence none of them could vie with the theatre of Pinara. Opposite the theatre are the remains of a building of much later times, with Ionic columns, some of which are double, and have the fluting grooved in a coating of cement. Close by are several very fine arch-lidded tombs, with Lycian inscriptions. Above is the lower acropolis, a long ridge of buildings, many of them of Cyclopean architecture. Among them is a small theatre, or odeum, and a gigantic portal, shattered apparently by an earthquake. We then ascended to the base of the rock of the greater acropolis, finding on our way a remarkable group of sarcophagi. They are arranged so as to form a square round an enormous central sarcophagus, with a pedestal-formed summit. This sarcophagus was the largest we met with in Lycia. Its interior is remarkable, the sides being surrounded by a projecting ledge or shelf. The tombs of the square bear no inscriptions, but are peculiarly ornamented, the cement which covers their sides being scored so as to represent the appearance of a regularly-built stone wall, exactly as we sometimes see on plastered houses at home. The stone at Pinara, though hard and durable, being a conglomerate, is not favourable for inscriptions; and the ancient inhabitants seem to have been in the habit of coating it with a fine mortar, or cement, and on that carving the letters. We ascended the acropolis rock by the only pass, a steep and difficult path cut on its side. On its level but sloping summit we found the remains of many fortifications and cisterns, not however of the most ancient architecture. Such parts of the margin as were in any way accessible, were strongly defended by walls. On the highest part of the summit is an isolated fortification, or stronghold, furnished with tanks, and surrounded by a ditch. The view from this is very grand, whether upward among the gloomy gorges of Antieragus, or forward over the fertile plains of the Xanthus, and the snowy ridges of Masicytus. The tombs which perforate the perpendicular face of this gigantic rock, are oblong holes, occasionally with a semicircular top. They are mostly irregularly arranged, but occasionally form perpendicular rows. There are no traces of panels or doors to their entrances. They must have been excavated by workmen suspended from the summit. They are now inaccessible, and are the dwelling-places of eagles.

"Descending from the rock, and passing the quadrangle of tombs before mentioned, we came to the remains of an early Christian church, at the head of a deep, dark, and narrow ravine, walled by the precipitous rocks of the lower acropolis, and filled with oleanders and chaste-trees. In this gloomy depth are many very perfect and beautiful rock-tombs, hewn in imitation of wooden buildings, and bearing on their ledges carved and painted Lycian inscriptions. On the front of the same ridge of rock, in that part facing the valley, are still larger and finer rock-tombs, some of which Uruk families had adopted as their winter habitations. Some of these are temple tombs, with sculptured pediments; and on one are the curious representations of the walls and buildings of an ancient city, figured by Fellows.* This tomb is now much injured by the fires lighted in its interior by the Uruks."—vol. i. pp. 7-11.

The singular rock-tombs which are so numerous in this city, are found in almost all the ancient cities of Lycia Proper. They have never been found, as we have already observed, in the district known as the ancient Milyas. The most curious and interesting yet discovered is at Tlos, and as the description of it is more minute than that of any other monument which the authors visited, we shall transcribe their account of this city before we proceed farther:—

"When we arrived at Deuvar, which is a village, and the residence of an Agha of some consequence, we at once proceeded to ascend the great rock or wing of the mountains on which Tlos stands. On arriving at the summit, we were lodged in a large and handsome chamber, forming part of a kiosk or summer-palace, belonging to the Agha's brother. It is built in a very picturesque manner on the summit of the acropolis, the highest portion forming the centre to the building, which consists of two wings, one on each side of the pinnacle of rock. The Turks have naturally a fine eye for landscape; and the sites of their pleasure-houses and places of recreation, are usually chosen with a view to the enjoyment of the neighbouring scenery.

"We remained three days at Tlos. It is a most delightful place. Few ancient sites can vie with it. Built on the summit of a hill of great height, bounded by perpendicular precipices and deep ravines, commanding a view of the entire length of the valley of the Xanthus—the snow-capped Taurus in one distance, the sea in another, the whole mass of Cragus and its towering peaks and

* "Casts of these are now in the British Museum, forming part of a most interesting collection brought from Lycia by the expedition of 1843—1844."

the citadel of Pinara in front, itself immediately overhung by the snowy summits of the Massicytus—a grander site for a great city could scarcely have been selected in all Lycia. Pinara has perhaps, more majesty; but there is a softness combined with the grandeur of Tlos, giving it a charm which Pinara has not.

“The acropolis hill terminates on the north-east, in perpendicular cliffs. These cliffs are honey-combed with rock-tombs: some of which are of great beauty. The older tombs are similar to those at Telmessus; but there are others, of an apparently later period, having their chambers excavated in the rock, but with the doorways regularly built. Such tombs have often long Greek inscriptions. The oldest tomb, to all appearance, at Tlos, is the largest and most interesting. It is a temple-tomb fronted by a pediment, borne on columns of peculiar form and Egyptian aspect, having no carved capitals, and being wider at the base than at the upper part. From such columns the Ionic might have originated, for we can hardly suppose this, apparently the most ancient and important tomb in Tlos, to have been left unfinished. Within the portico is a handsome carved door, or rather imitation door, with knocker and lock, on each side of which are windows opening into large tombs. On one side of the portico is carved a figure, which we may recognise as Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasus, and galloping up a rocky hill, which may represent Mount Cragus, to encounter an enormous leopard sculptured over one of the tomb entrances on the right side of the door. This animal may be a form of Chimera, but presents none of the mythological attributes, and is, in all probability, the representation of a ‘Caplan,’ the leopard which infests the crags of Cragus at the present day. An ornamental flourish appears on the door-side near the leopard, and is repeated on the corresponding panel on the other side; but there is no animal carved on that panel. On the panels beneath the tomb are carved dogs, and there are also traces of others on the pediment. Pegasus is a Persian horse, having a topknot and knotted tail. A saddle-cloth of ornamental character has been painted on his back. The group of figures appears to have been originally painted. The head-dress of Bellerophon is very peculiar, as also the arrangement of the beard. The eye is rather full and Greek. There is no inscription on the tomb. A few feet from it, on a level with the pediment, is a Lycian inscription in a panel on the rock, the characters of which are much larger than any we have met with elsewhere. Two other Lycian inscriptions occurred at Tlos: one on a tomb on the opposite hill, and another on one near the base of the acropolis hill. None of these had been previously noticed.

“In a field at some distance, we discovered a quadrangular pedestal, or perhaps top of a tomb, on one side of which is a representation of Tlos itself during a siege. In this curious view, we recognised the disposition of the walls on the acropolis, and of the more

remarkable tombs as they are still to be seen. In the other compartments are represented warriors in various positions.* Near this relic there is a remarkable tomb, a sarcophagus elevated on a towering pinnacle of rock, cut away on all sides, so as to be inaccessible. From this we went to the theatre, which is large and handsome, and of the Greek form. The rows of seats are thirty-four, and near the avenues, they are ornamented with carved lions' paws. Near the theatre is a great group of remains of Roman buildings, apparently palaces, the arched windows of which are so placed as to command a magnificent view of the valley. Great clusters of ivy gave a rich effect to these ruins, and the golden henbane was in flower upon their walls."—vol. i. pp. 32-36.

It is much to be regretted that the authors do not state their reasons for regarding this curious tomb as the oldest at Tlos, or that they do not, at least, trace for us its connexion with the early period of Lycian history. If it could once be shown, satisfactorily, that this tomb was of the same era with those which are inscribed with Lycian characters, the question of the origin of these monuments would present but little difficulty.

The descriptions which we have extracted, contain some of the grounds upon which Mr. Daniell and his friends were led by their examination of the Lycian monuments to depart from the opinion of former travellers, and to ascribe them not to the Lycian race, but to the Persian conquerors introduced under Cyrus. There is no sufficient historical ground for believing that, prior to the Persian invasion, there existed in Lycia a language substantially different from that spoken by the inhabitants of Caria, and the other primitive provinces of Asia Minor. We are far, indeed, from attaching much weight to the argument, (on which the authors [Vol. II. p. 41] strongly rely,) from Homer's making his Lycian heroes all speak Greek, and enter into converse with the Greeks in the battle-field: for the same argument, applied to Virgil or to Tasso, would prove that the language of the Trojans under Æneas, and that of the Latin tribes was the same, and even that the motley nations of the crusading army, had but a single tongue. But we regard the silence of Herodotus as more decisive, both because he was a native of the Carian pro-

* "Casts of the bas-reliefs on this remarkable monument are now in the British Museum, having been made during the last expedition to Xanthus."

vince, and because he is, generally speaking, most careful in noting all the peculiarities of language. Hence, as a large proportion of these rock-monuments, and unquestionably, the more ancient among them, contain inscriptions in a distinct and peculiar language, it is fair to infer that they were not constructed by the Lycian race, who occupied the land in the interval between the expulsion of the Solymi and the Persian invasion.

This opinion derives considerable support not only from the undoubted Persian affinities of the Lycian language, on which we shall have occasion to speak before we close, but also from the Persian character of many of the remains themselves. From the description of the tomb at Tlos already extracted, this will be sufficiently evident; but it is, perhaps, still more clear from the sculptures discovered at Xanthus, and now deposited in the British Museum. Many of these represent scenes taken from the siege of the city; the horses, the chariots, the men are clearly Persian; and one of the bas-reliefs presents the curious Persian characteristic of a king or governor, seated under an umbrella or canopy, and giving audience to a party of petitioners.

The inscription on the Xanthian obelisk, (which is bilingual, and contains a Greek translation of the Lycian inscription,) is entitled a decree of "the King of Kings"—the peculiar designation of the Persian monarch. This title is frequently repeated, as is also "the name of Aoura or Aouremez, the chief divinity of the Persian fire-worshippers." And, what is perhaps more decisive, the name of Harpagus—the general, it will be recollected, by whom the province was subdued for Cyrus—is described as a prince or governor in the territory.

But there is a still more interesting and curious evidence of the Persian origin of these remains, founded on a supposed allusion to the name of this same general, derived from the coins of Lycia, of which a large collection has been made by the successive travellers who have visited the country. As this argument is given in the words of the lamented Mr. Daniell, we are induced to transcribe it, not only from its own value, but also as a specimen of his style and manner.

"Having ventured to state an opinion which has become public, that the inscriptions found in such numbers on the monuments of

Lycia (and as it would seem in no other country, at least of Asia Minor,) were not written in the language of the Lycian people, but of their conquerors, I shall now proceed to state on what grounds I came to that conclusion during my passage through the country in which those inscriptions were found. We have the remains of three distinct classes of ancient workmanship, which it is impossible to separate from each other with regard to their age and their origin: The tombs, to which Mr. Fellows has unhappily given the title of Elizabethan (those extremely simple imitations of wood-built cottages, with rectangular mullions, and raftered roofs,) the coins usually designated as triquetras, and the inscriptions themselves. Finding the language inscribed on no other coins (with one or two remarkable and unaccountable exceptions) than on those with the triquetra, certainly on none earlier; finding it on no tombs of an earlier date than the raftered tombs in question, and on others of virtually the same character, though differing in form, such as the tomb of Payara, at Xanthus, and the great tomb at Antiphellus, we cannot disconnect the language from the tombs and the coins. We feel that the people who spoke the language were the authors both of the architecture and the coinage; and these facts we fairly assume as data, because they are the data on which any one must argue who would prove the language to be Lycian; and it seems altogether beyond belief, that if this particular language had been the language of the country for many centuries, it should have been first employed as a language of inscription by persons who did not speak it, and who, we have historical authority for saying, were strangers to the country. Herodotus distinctly states, of one district at any rate, that the early inhabitants were all but annihilated by the Persian invasion; and that those inhabiting Lycia in his time, and calling themselves Xanthians, were, with the exception of certain families, foreigners. Now let us for a moment bring the question of coins to bear upon this portion of our inquiry. These coins apparently belong to a certain series of cities, many of which are determined by their resemblance to the Greek names, and all of which, as far as we have any knowledge of them, were situated along the coast of Lycia, or the bordering country of Peræa or Caria, with one exception; that of Gagæ.* Tombs with inscriptions in the same language are found at all those places; and upon the whole there is sufficient foundation for the conclusion that the number of cities in which there are traces of the people speaking this language and building these tombs, is about the same as that of the cities coining the triquetra, viz., Cadyanda, Pinara, Tlos, Arsa, Xanthus, Patara, Telmessus, Araxa, Antiphellus, Pyrrha, Phellus, Candyba, Armo-

* "Mr. Sharpe has since altered the sound of a letter in the alphabet, which will not admit of the assigning these coins to Gagæ."

lee, probably Podalia; Cyanæ 1st, and the 3rd-found Cyanæ; Dembra Gorge (Trabala?), Myra, Sura, Limyra, Corydalla, Rhodiopolis, Dædala, and Caunus. This list, formed from a tolerably minute survey of the country, includes, I believe, all the places in which there are traces of the so-called Lycian language or tombs, and may probably serve in a material degree to throw light,—if not altogether explain the names found on the coins, since there can be little doubt of their being eventually shown to be *exactly so*. Either, then, these coins were in currency before the tombs were sculptured, or they were not. Is it likely that they were? Is it probable that the people who had the power to execute works of art, such as we find on even the earliest of these triquetras, grotesque though they be, would have omitted to employ the same talent and skill in the sculpture of the beautiful limestone, with which their country abounded, and which we find them elaborately working after a given period? I am sure an examination of these monuments in conjunction with the coins even more cursory than ours was, would be sufficient to lead to the conclusion that they both owe their origin to the same people, and to the same period, and that in the strict sense of the word period, beginning at the same time, and ending at the same time.”—vol. ii. pp. 50-54.

But the most ingenious part of the conjecture is still remaining. The singular emblem, a three-pronged instrument, called by Mr. Daniell, *triquetra*, which is found inscribed on the reverse of almost all the Lycian coins, is ingeniously supposed to *represent or symbolize the name of Harpagus*, the victorious general of Cyrus. We need hardly say, that as ἀρπαγή means a “flesh-hook,” or a “grappling-iron,” the emblem, if such it be, would (especially with a people delighting in symbols) be a ready and natural representative of the name of the governor. So that the stamping this triquetra upon a coin, would in reality be nothing more than impressing upon it the name of the governor or perhaps the dynasty under which it was issued.

“It has been most happily and ingeniously suggested by a gentleman interesting himself with the late researches in this country, that the instrument to which the name of triquetra has been given, is in reality a grappling-iron, a hook—αρπαγος,—that the Persian general, finding himself governor of a district in which his language was as yet not spoken, and desiring to make his name known as the lord of the district, in all the cities which owed him allegiance, and in which his followers took up their abode, instead of engraving his name or his portrait, put a symbol upon his coins, which must immediately remind all employing the coinage, and acquainted with the Greek language, that ΑΡΠΑΓΟΣ was the governor.

"This supposition will sufficiently account for the variety of forms which this instrument assumes in different medals: sometimes that of a single hook; sometimes of a double one; but generally treble; and in one or two instances quadruple. The variations show, that its being a hook was more characteristic of its object on the coin, than its being a three-legged instrument, as is commonly supposed, and as its modern name would tend to imply, while its being generally three-legged may be sufficiently accounted for by the probability that grappling irons were usually of that form; nor is it altogether impossible that there may be some connection between the history of this coinage and that of the Selgians, so universally distinguished (I believe) by its three human legs. However this may be, it is at all events clear that there is strong presumptive evidence in favour of the Persian origin of these coins, by far the most probable explanation of their characteristic symbol bringing them to precisely the same date and origin as the obelisk at Xanthus, which itself contains the earliest specimens of cuneiform inscriptions in Lycia; as these coins contain the earliest specimens of the numismatic employment of that language."—vol. ii. pp. 56-8.

It would appear, therefore, that during the period of Lycian history in which these coins were issued, the triquetra was in some way a sort of national emblem, like the *fleur-de-lys* for France, or the harp for our own country. A considerable number of specimens are given in one of the plates of the appendix, (Vol. II. p. 203); and there are two of the number especially which are extremely curious. These pieces, (Nos. 20 and 21,) are certainly of Persian coinage; and indeed are the ordinary *siglos* or silver Daric. But they both are found to be stamped, (evidently long after coinage,) with a small countermark of the triquetra. From which it would appear that Persian coins, in order to circulate in Lycia, required to have stamped upon them the national symbol, which is the ordinary impress of the Lycian coins properly so called.

But the Persian affinities of the language inscribed upon these remains is, perhaps, the strongest evidence of their Persian origin. To this part of the subject we shall return, very briefly, before we close; but we must first introduce our readers to a few of the most remarkable among the many ancient cities whose sites have been identified by Mr. Daniell and his friends.

The account of Xanthus, though it is somewhat long, will be read with interest for the sake of the precious remains for which the British Museum is indebted to its ruined monuments.

"The following morning, we left Minara for Xanthus. The first part of our route lay over flat-topped clay hills, their summits often being formed of tabular masses of limestone or conglomerate. We found in the clay some well preserved fossils, all of them freshwater shells of tertiary age. Passing over a plain, we went through several small but comfortable villages, surrounded by well-cultivated fields. Crossing a thickly wooded hill of scaglia, which projected into the valley like a peninsula, and on which are the ruins of some ancient building, probably a temple, we came in sight of the plain, extending from Xanthus to the sea, and of the acropolis of the city on the opposite side of the river to that on which we stood. The river itself was extremely rapid, and charged with pale yellow mud, derived from the deposit of tertiary clay, through which it has to run a great part of its course. We found the party at the ruins enthusiastically engaged in their work, though damped in spirits in consequence of a melancholy accident which had occurred the previous day, two of the sailors having been drowned when bringing stores on shore from the *Isabella*, a little schooner attendant on the Beacon, which had been sent to the mouth of the river to land necessaries for the use of the excavating party.

"Captain Graves remained at Xanthus during the four following days, occupied with his officers in ascertaining the weight, &c., of the antiquities proposed to be carried away, and the means of transport. The result was unfavourable as respected the Beacon, which proved unequal to the task, the expedition not having been provided with sufficient means, and the ship not being large enough. Nevertheless, as the work so far had given a promise of rich treasures, should the excavations be proceeded with, it was resolved to continue the operations until the 1st of March. And the result proved the wisdom of the determination; for the greater part of the Xanthian marbles, now in the British Museum, were brought to light during the interval, and carefully cased to be carried away by ships provided with sufficient means; a duty which was afterwards performed most efficiently by the *Monarch* and *Medea*. During the two months in which the excavations were carried on, Sir C. Fellows remained at Xanthus, deeply interested in the operations conducted under his eye among his favourite ruins, in company with Mr. Freeland, the first-lieutenant of the Beacon, who had been appointed by Captain Graves to command and direct the seamen and marines on shore, and Mr. Harvey the assistant surgeon of the ship.

"The site of Xanthus, though beautiful, is not imposing. The hill on which it stands rises abruptly from a level plain, in some places marshy and alluvial. The rapid torrent of the river rushes along the base of the steep precipices of a lower acropolis, at the back of which are the theatre, and several of the more remarkable monuments, especially the square columnar tomb which bore the

bas reliefs descriptive of the story of the daughters of Pandarus, now in the British Museum, and that on which is the longest Lycian inscription known. Above them rises a second rocky eminence, the upper acropolis, the summit of which is mostly occupied by the ruins of an early Christian monastery. On the south-western slope of the city are several remarkable sarcophagi and other tombs, including the tomb of Payara, figured in the frontispiece to Fellows's first tour. Elevated on platforms of rock, immediately above the plain, stood a group of temples, of which the friezes and statues, now in the British Museum, were the principal ornaments.

"Whilst we were there, these sculptures were daily dug out of the earth, and brought once more to view. The search for them was intensely exciting; and, in the enthusiasm of the moment, our admiration of their art was, perhaps, a little beyond their merits. As each block of marble was uncovered, and the earth carefully brushed away from its surface, the form of some fair amazon or stricken warrior, of an eastern king or a besieged castle, became revealed, and gave rise to many a pleasant discussion as to the sculptor's art therein displayed, or the story in the history of the ancient Xanthians therein represented,—conversations which all who took part in will ever look back upon as among the most delightful in their lives. Often, after the work of the day was over and the night had closed in, when we had gathered round the log fire in the comfortable Turkish cottage which formed the headquarters of the party, we were accustomed to sally forth, torch in hand, Charles Fellows as cicerone, to cast a midnight look of admiration on some spirited battle-scene or headless Venus, which had been the great prize of the morning's work.

"On one of the days of this visit, several of the party rode across the plain to the angle of it which is formed by the termination of Cragus and the sea, in order to examine the ruins which had been referred to Cydna, or Pydna. Crossing the Xanthus a little below the city, we came to a group of sarcophagi with Greek inscriptions, apparently of late date. Then, ascending the limestone hills, we came to the platform and remains of a temple. After an hour's ride, we arrived at a considerable hill, conspicuous from the city, on which there are traces of walls and many sarcophagi, also a large theatre in very perfect preservation. This was discovered by Mr. Hoskyn, during the preceding winter. It is remarkable for having straight sides, and has two large portals, over one of which are sculptured sixteen tragic masks. The seats are twenty-seven in number: there is no trace of a proscenium. Near it are the remains of a large temple. We could find no inscriptions; but the position of these ruins plainly pointed them out to be the site of the Latoum, the temple of Latona mentioned by Strabo.

"From the theatre we rode across a very flat marshy plain, to a short but deep and sluggish stream, called the Uzlan river, which,

like many of the streams of the lower part of Lycia, springs full grown out of the base of the mountains. It runs a course of about three miles, and there is a bridge built over it. Uzlan is a small scala of two or three houses, and a rendezvous for Greek sailors. Near it are some massive hellenic walls, as if fortifying a point of rock. Beyond it is the fortress described and well figured by Fellows as Cydna. It is beautifully built, and in fine preservation. The walls are crowned with battlements, which, however, are not part of the original architecture, but subsequent additions, constructed apparently during the middle ages. In the original wall the Cyclopæan and regular styles are mingled. Loop-holes are placed at intervals. Within this fine fortress are the remains of a Christian church."—vol. i. pp. 12-17.

The classic reader will be interested when he recognises in the still-subsisting natural phenomenon of a volcanic fire, the mysterious myth of the Chimera, which was the wonder of his school-boy days. We need hardly say, that it is described at length by the ancient naturalists and geographers; but it is a curious confirmation of their accuracy, to find it still as busily at work as in the days of Aristotle—

Δεινον ἀποπνεύουσα πυρὸς μένος ἀδορμένοιο.

"Not far from the Deliktash, on the side of a mountain, Captain Beaufort discovered the yanar or perpetual fire, famous as the Chimæra of many ancient authors. We found it as brilliant as when he visited it, and also somewhat increased; for besides the large flame in the corner of the ruins described by him, there were small jets issuing from crevices in the sides of a crater-like cavity, five or six feet deep. At the bottom of this was a shallow puddle of sulphureous and turbid water, regarded by the Turks as a sovereign remedy for all skin diseases. We met here two old Turks attended by two black slaves, who had come from a distance to procure some of the soot deposited from the flames, valued as efficacious in the cure of sore eye-lids, and also as a dye for the eyebrows. They had been enjoying themselves by this ancient fireside for two days, cooking their meals and boiling their coffee on the flames of Chimæra. A number of hewn blocks of stone built into more modern walls, and lying around, may be remains of the temple of Vulcan, which anciently stood here. On one of them was an inscription, which we copied."—vol. i. pp. 193-94.

The great object of the tourists' search every where, was the inscriptions, especially those in the Lycian character. It was by means of these inscriptions that they succeeded in determining the sites of several of the cities previously

unvisited or, at least, unrecognised; and indeed we are tempted to believe that in some cases they may have been too hasty in forming a conclusion upon these premises. It would by no means appear to follow, as a matter of course, that the occurrence of the name of a city in an epitaph, should necessarily imply that this was the name of the city in which the epitaph was found. It might easily occur that the epitaph of a stranger, though buried in a particular city, would contain the name not of the city in which he was buried, but of that of his nativity. We are not by any means disposed, therefore, to accept as final and conclusive, in all cases, the topography of Lycia, as determined by these travellers, though we are bound to acknowledge that their labours have been extremely successful.

Indeed, nothing could exceed their industry and zeal in deciphering and transcribing these inscriptions. No means were left untried for the better copying of them, such as wetting the surface, casting strong lights on it in various directions, and even *shutting the eyes and trusting to touch*: Often at a distance, the letters appeared very distinct, but seemed to vanish as approached; reminding them of the writings on rocks concealing treasures, so often mentioned in eastern tales, seen by all men from afar, by the chosen only when near.

The ruins of Candyba present considerable variety.

"Leaving Kassabar at 8, we passed a water-mill kept by a Greek, near the outskirts of the village, and in an hour's riding along the foot of the hills, or over hillocks of clay and gravel, we began to ascend by a steep road, traversing laminated marly beds, in which we could detect no fossils. The side of the mountain being steep, we did not see the village of Gendever, or the rock over it, until we were close to its base. The fortress, or wall crowning it, we were disappointed to perceive was of middle-age construction; but we had better hopes that the site would prove of more importance than these walls seemed to indicate from the appearance of three or four well-cut Lycian rock-tombs, excavated in the face of some detached pieces of limestone, seemingly torn away and rolled from the rock behind them, which lay on the small terraces adjoining the cottages. Giving but a hasty look at them now, we proceeded to the top of the rock which rises about eighty or a hundred feet above the village, and is precipitous on all sides. It is a pinnacle of the scaglia limestone, rising through the soft marly deposits, of which the lower face of the mountain is composed. On surmounting the rock, we found it to have a narrow summit of about two hundred and fifty paces in length, and scarce

twenty broad. The wall which enclosed it was built of small stones and mortar, with towers, now in a very dilapidated state; some of the fragments were plainly portions of a more ancient acropolis, and some parts of the substructure of the modern walls were evidently the foundations of the ancient walls. Its summit was too small to include many buildings, and few remains were found; one of them appears to have been a Christian church, from a marble fragment found near it, with three crosses in low relief sculptured on it. Whilst we were employed making a few sketches from the summit, we were joined by a well-dressed young Turk, who proposed to be our guide through the ruins for a bakshish. We offered him two piastres, but he demanded five, and at length agreed to take three if we paid him at once; this we at first hesitated to do, but at length agreed to, on his making strong professions of honest intentions, one of which was his lifting his turban from off his head and presenting his bald pate to us, as much as to say his head should be a guarantee; such an appeal settled the bargain, and he then became a communicative companion, and pointed out to us the several ruins which he knew of visible from Gendever. Commencing with Tchookoorbye, he next pointed to ruins which he called Tooza, on a wooded peak in the direction of Myra. With the help of our telescopes, we made out a city of some importance judging from the extent of its walls and the groups of sarcophagi adjoining it.

"Having dwelt for some time with satisfaction and pleasure on the fine situation of this as yet unknown city of Gendever, and on the view it commanded, we descended with our guide by the western side of the acropolis to two or three rock-tombs excavated in the cliff at its base, which, although beautifully executed, were without inscriptions. From these he conducted us round the north end of the rock to another, and, perceiving that we attached much importance to the inscriptions, thought of turning it to his advantage in a pecuniary point of view. Running forward and placing his back against the tomb, and extending his arms to cover as many of the letters as he possibly could, he demanded another bakshish for the privilege of copying. With this we of course had no intention to comply, after the previous bargain; and the scamp perceiving that no more piastres were likely to fall into his pocket, quietly sneaked off, leaving us to find out the remaining tombs ourselves, and the good impression we had conceived of his being an honest Turk as quickly to evaporate. The inscription proved to be a very perfect one, in the Lycian character; but several letters were hid under a stalactitic incrustation, deposited by water dripping over the surface of the rock. This had occurred in former cases, when we had ascertained it could frequently be completely removed by carefully hammering the part. A geological hammer was consequently a necessary companion when we went in quest of inscriptions; and, in this instance, after half an hour's

labour, the deficient letters were restored as perfect as the day they were cut, their cavities filled with a soft coloured pigment, alternately red and blue, and as fresh as if painted but a few hours. We found in all ten of these rock-tombs: three of which only bore inscriptions, viz., two Lycian and one Greek. The latter, although evidently the most recent, was the least legible, owing to the imperfect state of the part of the rock in which it was cut. We found it on a detached rock on the west side of the acropolis near a cottage at its base. It proved one of great importance, from its containing the name of the city, which occurred twice; but it was with great difficulty that Mr. Daniell was enabled to decipher it, and make out the almost obliterated characters. From this inscription we learnt the name of the ruins to be Candyba, a city mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers. Near Candyba was the forest of Cœnium, which probably may be recognised in the extensive pine forest that now covers the mountain above the city. The modern name is but a slight corruption of the ancient. Candyba, according to the modern pronunciation of the beta, would be Candyva, with every Greek who read it, the beta being changed to v in most ancient names where the b occurs, as also in the modern Greek language. It is surprising thus to find the names of the Lycian cities so well preserved where the descendants of its ancient inhabitants have been so entirely swept out of the country, and replaced by people differing in manners, in religion and language, having no interest connected with the locality, to induce them to respect the relics or names, and keep alive the memory of the former possessors of the soil. We procured a few coins from the peasantry; one had the letters KAND upon it, a further confirmation of the site, and another had the initials M A on the obverse. As these letters occur on several coins found in Lycia, they have been generally attributed to a city called Massacytus; but antiquarians are now induced to consider them as common to the assemblage of cities situated on and around the great mountain of Massacytus, which, from their being in general more common and more widely scattered than other coins of the country, appears to us to be the most probable conclusion respecting them. Independent of its antiquarian interest, the site of Candyba delighted us on account of its geological features. In the scaglia here we found well preserved fossils, mostly corals; and in the marls which abutted against the acropolis rock, were numerous well preserved fossils of tertiary origin, which showed that this valley of Kassabar had been at a recent geological period, an arm of the sea."—vol. ii. pp. 90-96.

This accidental preservation of the pigment employed in colouring the letters of this inscription, would seem to warrant the conjecture that this may have been the uniform practice, as we know to have been the case in the Etruscan

inscriptions. The tombs themselves have some analogies with those curious Etruscan tombs, not built but excavated, which are found in the neighbourhood of Perugia; though in no respect do they resemble the common type of the Etruscan tombs, those of Veii, Tarquinia, Corneto, and the other cities of the League. The Lycian tomb is simply a recess excavated in the rock, with a sculptured door-way surmounted by a pediment, and is described by Mr. Daniell as "an extremely close imitation of a wood-built cottage, with rectangular mullions and a rafted roof"—a peculiarity of form which they have in common with the miniature tombs or urns discovered at Alba Longa. In some cases they are excavated in the face of a precipitous rock, at a distance from the ground, and in such a position as only to be approached by persons suspended by ropes from the summit of the precipice.

As these descriptions are somewhat monotonous, and in many respects repeat each other, we shall add but one more, that of the important city of Termessus Major.

"Opposite Evdeer Khan two deep valleys open from the Solyman Mountains into the plain of Adalia. They are separated by a craggy peak called Gule-look Dag, the summit of which is five thousand feet above the level of the sea. The chain, continuing to the northward, nowhere exceeds that elevation, but declines towards the north-west corner of the plain, where there is another opening or valley, which our guide called Dooshamarez, and which is probably the pass General Koehler ascended on his route to the highlands of Pisidia. Of the two passes opposite Evdeer Khan, the northern is the Gule-look. To it we bent our course on leaving Lagon. Not far from the ruins, we crossed the broad and deep, but dry, bed of a torrent; following its course for more than an hour, we reached the foot of the hills at the entrance of the pass. Here our expectations were raised by the appearance of ancient fortifications crowning an eminence on our left, and of a fine Hellenic tower at the foot of the mountain on our right.

"The valley became more and more confined. We were evidently entering an important pass; every here and there were traces of fortifications: suddenly, in the narrowest part of the gorge, we came upon a range of perfect and admirably built Hellenic walls, stretching across it, fortified by towers, and passable only by the ancient and narrow pathway. The fortifications mentioned by Arrian, the pass through which the army of Alexander marched, seemed before us, and at every turn we expected to see the walls of Termessus. Our guide pointed to the summit of the mountain above us, and said he had heard of ruins there. About a mile

beyond the gateway, we reached a khan, consisting of three stone buildings, and a coffee-house kept by Turkish soldiers, acting as guards to the pass. Here we put up for the night, not a little gratified by the assurance given us by one of these men that the report of ruins on the neighbouring mountain was true.

"Early in the morning we commenced the ascent of the mountain, to seek for the ruined city. The first part was over steep and rocky ground, but after a time we came upon an ancient roadway, leading towards an opening in the mountain-side between two towering rocky peaks. Following this road, which was buried in trees, and encumbered by underwood, for an hour and a half, we suddenly came upon two ancient guardhouses, almost perfect, one on either side of the way. We did not linger to trace any connecting wall, but hurried anxiously on with sanguine expectations. For nearly a mile we met with no other traces of ruins. Some sarcophagi were at length discovered among the thicket, and near them on the face of a great rock, were carved in large letters, the words

ΠΛΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ.

"Suddenly, after crossing a low wall, we emerged from the thicket, and entered an open and flat area between the two great rocks, and walled in by inaccessible precipices. On it ruins were profusely scattered; numerous built tombs and sarcophagi, fallen buildings of large size, and a temple, the ornamented doorway of which still stood, fronted by a goodly flight of steps. Fluted columns of large dimensions lay strewn in fragments on the ground. Unwilling to delay until we had ascertained the full extent of the city, after a hasty glance, we proceeded to the upper end of the platform. Here the valley became more contracted, and a strong and perfect wall was thrown across it. Within this, ruins of nobler style and more perfect preservation appeared,—especially a palatial building of great extent, having numerous doors and windows, and almost perfect to the roof. Like the others, it was constructed of rectangular blocks of limestone, without intervening cement; before us, on what appeared to be the mountain-top, a third wall appeared, to which we ascended, expecting to find the acropolis. Hitherto we had met with no mention of the city in any of the inscriptions; but on ascending to the last-mentioned wall we came upon an inscribed pedestal, which assured us we were in Termessus,—a name shouted out by the finders with no small delight, and echoed by the old rocks as if in confirmation. It must have been new to them after having rested so long unspoken. On reaching the third wall, our surprise was great at finding that hitherto we had been wandering, as it were, only in the vestibule of the city, and that Termessus itself was yet to come, built on the mountain-top, even as Arrian has recorded. It

stood on a platform surrounded by a natural wall of crags, three to four hundred feet high, except on the east, where it terminated in a tremendous precipice, diving into a deep gorge, opening into the Pamphylian plain.

"After crossing the third wall, our attention was first attracted by an avenue, bordered on each side by a close row of pedestals, terminated at each end by public buildings, apparently temples. These pedestals were almost all inscribed, and the inscriptions in good preservation. One of them was of peculiar interest, confirming this site as Termessus Major.—

ΤΕΡΜΗΣΣΕΩΝΤΩΝ
ΜΕΙΣΩΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

Above the avenue to the west, appears to have been the habitable portion of the city,—the buildings there, which are all fallen, having the aspect of the remains of dwelling-houses. To the south and east, the ground is covered by public edifices, many in tolerable preservation, others prostrate,—all of substantial architecture. In the centre is an open levelled space, which from an inscription proved to be the Agora. In the midst of it stands an isolated rock, about fifteen feet high, surmounted by a plain sarcophagus, below which, at the head of a flight of steps hewn out of a rock, is a recess with a seat (a Bema?). There are also niches for votive tablets. The area of the Agora is undermined by extensive cisterns, the roofs of which are supported by massive pillars and arches. This area seems during the middle ages to have been enclosed by the walls and cells of a monastery, one of the very few remains of Christian origin at this site. Termessus was the seat of an episcopal see. Around the Agora are the most important public buildings; the most perfect of these is a great square erection, with highly finished walls ornamented with Doric pilasters, and having only two windows, placed high up. A smaller and similar building stands behind the larger, the most prominent object among the ruins; and by its side a second, in front of which are two pedestals, bearing inscriptions, one in honour of Plato, who appears to have been held in high esteem by the Termessians, and the other dedicated to the Muses, of whom this was probably the temple. By the side of the Agora, and on the left of the great square building, are the fallen remains of a Doric temple, apparently (from an inscription) dedicated to the sun. Some of the blocks are of Parian marble, and are fragments of sculptured friezes. A search and excavation among them would probably lead to the discovery of many works of art. In front of the Agora are several large buildings, the purposes of which cannot well be guessed, and behind one is a great Doric edifice. Over the centre of one of its windows is a carving, which may be a device connected with divination by means of birds. Communicating with it

is a smaller edifice of ancient structure, having in the centre three erect projections of rock with steps carved on their sides. Could these two buildings have formed part of a college of Haruspices, and the pillars of rock have been *Haruspicia*? The theatre is placed at the north-west corner of the Agora, and its upper part is nearly on a level with the platform, whence there is an entrance leading to the diazoma. This entrance is not arched, as is usually the case, but is open, and consequently interrupts the connection of the upper row of seats. Some fragments of columns standing near the passage, seem to indicate that the passage from the Agora into the theatre was through a portico. The theatre is of good proportions, and well-preserved, free of bushes, and having few of its seats displaced. There are eighteen rows of seats below the diazoma, and nine above. The south wing was extended as far as possible, without interfering with the proscenium, to which it is joined by a wall. Fronting the proscenium was a platform, ornamented with pedestals; leading from it are five doors; the architecture is not ornamented. Behind the theatre is the gymnasium. The theatre overlooks a deep ravine, on the opposite side of which is a narrow zig-zag causeway, leading up from the gulf below, and forming a second entrance to the city, equally difficult with the first. Most of the ruins at Termessus are of Roman date."—vol. i. pp. 230-38.

The Roman remains indeed are found in almost all the cities, and in some cases predominate; a circumstance which will hardly surprise us, when we remember that the most flourishing period of Lycian history, was that which immediately followed its annexation to the Roman empire.

We have already alluded to the language of those inscriptions, which are written in the so-called Lycian character. From the circumstance of these characters being found upon the oldest of the monuments, as well as upon the coins, which are clearly of Lycian origin, it is fair to assign them to the same period and to the same people. Many efforts, therefore, have been made to arrive at a knowledge of this language, with a view of determining, through its affinities, the origin of the people who used it. The most zealous and successful among the investigators is Mr. Sharpe, who has contributed to the work before us a valuable essay on this subject, and also on the coins of Lycia. We shall endeavour to give some idea of the result of his researches.

Without the aid of the very complete and interesting engravings contained in the work itself, it will, of course, be impossible to give an accurate notion of the Lycian character. In general terms, however, the letters may be

described as of that class known as cuneiform, or wedge-shaped, and bearing in many of the consonants a *general* resemblance to the Archaic letters which the reader may have seen in the Etruscan inscriptions. This however is true only of some of the consonants: others are totally unlike; and there is this great difference, that the lines are read from left to right, and not as in the Etruscan and in the Eastern languages, generally from right to left. The vowels too, except A and E, are of a form entirely peculiar. The Lycian alphabet, as far as it is yet ascertained, contains no less than fourteen different characters representing the long and short vowels, thirteen recognised consonantal characters, besides one doubtful, one unknown, and four or five others which are believed to represent stops and numerals. The vowels nearly correspond with the long and short vowels of the Persian and Sanscrit languages.

Like the language of the Etruscan monuments, the Lycian inscriptions, when first discovered, were entirely enveloped in mystery, but a clue presents itself for the solution, which is wanting for the old language of Etruria. Fortunately, as in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, some Lycian inscriptions are accompanied by a Greek translation; and, by a close comparison of these, the meaning of many words has been clearly ascertained, and that of many others is conjectured with considerable plausibility.

Before we proceed to consider the language in its connexion with the antiquities, and its bearing upon the origin of the people, we may submit, as a literary curiosity, one or two examples of these bilingual inscriptions. The Lycian characters, we need not say, are represented by the Roman letters in the uppermost line.

ēwēeya : ērafazeya : mēte prinafatū : sedēreya :

το μνημα τοδε ποιησατο Σιδάριος

This tomb which made Sidarios

pē . . . nēū : tedēeme : ūrppe ētle ēūwe sē lade :

Παρμενοντος υιος εαυτω και τη γυναικι

Parmeno's son for himself and wife

ēūwe sē tedēeme p . . . ē . . . lēyē

και υιψ Πυβιαλη

his and son Pubiale

Vol. ii. p. 223.

This inscription, which was found at Limyra, had

already been published both by Mr. Walpole and Sir Charles Fellows; but we are induced to insert it as the only, or almost the only bilingual inscription in which the corresponding words of the two languages are certainly determined.

There is much less certainty with regard to the following:

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----|
| ēwūinū | itatu | mēnē | prinafutū | polēnīda | molleūēsēū | se |
| τοῦτο το μνημα | | | εργασαντο | Απολλωνιδες | Μολλισιος | και |
| This tomb | which | made | Apollonides | son of | Mollisus | and |

| | | | | |
|---------|--------------------|-------------|------------|----------|
| lapara | polēnīdau | poreūemētēū | prinēzeyēū | ūrppē |
| Λαπαρας | Απολλωνιδου | Πυριματιος | οικειοι | επι ταις |
| Laparas | son of Apollonides | Porimatis's | servants | for |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----|---------------|-----|----|--------|------|
| lada | ēpttēū | sē | tedēemē | sē | ey | ē | tesē |
| γυναιξιν | ταις εαυτων | και | τοις εγγονοις | και | αν | τις | |
| wives | their | and | children | and | if | anyone | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-------|--------|-----|-------------|------|---------------|
| reti . . deteē | itatu | ēwēūe | mē | ey | ē | oēte | ponamachche : |
| αδικηση | το μνημα | τουτο | εξωλεα | και | πανωλεα | ειη | |
| violates | tomb | this | | | | | |

aladaūade : ada : 4

αντιψ παντων

let him pay a fine adas . . .

Vol. ii. p. 224—5.

It would be out of place, we fear, to subjoin the critical explanation of the words which Mr. Sharpe has devised. Should any one desire to investigate farther, we refer him to the author, (vol. ii. 225, &c.) and in order to prevent misapprehension, we shall merely observe, that it is only as far as the words *το μνημα* *τατο*, that the inscriptions are supposed to correspond. The remaining part of the Greek version, according to Mr. Sharpe, departs from the original.

From the investigation of the language of these inscriptions, Mr Sharpe, though he began with the impression that it was Phenician, has been led to the conclusion, that it is nearly allied to the great Persian family. Among the several dialects, he thinks it "bears a closer resemblance to Zend than to the Persepolitan;" and the identity of the name of the deity to which we have already referred, goes far to confirm the conjecture. There is another very curious

confirmation of this, derived from the name of the river Xanthus. This appellation, it is unnecessary to observe, was given to the stream by the Greeks in consequence of the yellow colour of its turbid waters. If we suppose it to have been so called before the Persian invasion, it is not unnatural that the Persians should (as we find to have been done by most of the conquering races supervening upon the aboriginal population,) have translated the epithet into their own language. Now we find that this actually did take place. One of the names of the river, according to Strabo, was *SIRBE*, which in Persian, signifies *yellow*. The absence of all allusion to this name in Herodotus, would go to show that it cannot have come into general use before his time.

From these curious coincidences, and from several historical facts collected (pp. 45-6.) by the authors, together with the arguments from the monuments themselves already detailed, the authors strongly insist upon the conclusion, that it is to the victorious Persian settlers we are to ascribe the earliest and most remarkable of the antiquities of Lycia. The evidence, however, still appears far from complete. Until some collateral investigation shall have detected remains of Persian origin, and of the date of the invasion of Cyrus, similar in character to those now discovered in Lycia—until we shall find inscriptions in the same or similar characters, and read like those from left to right, which shall be clearly connected with this period of Persian history, the last link in the chain of evidence will be wanting, and it must still be lawful to doubt the Persian origin of these curious and interesting works of art.

But we have wearied the reader with these antiquarian discussions; and it is fair to introduce him to some of the lighter contents of the volumes before us. This, we must add, is not so easy a task, inasmuch as each of the writers appears to have devoted himself so zealously to his own department in the compilation of the work, as to overlook adventures and descriptions of general interest.

The following adventures furnish a curious illustration of the habits of the people.

“Here again we found the pedlar whom we had met at Isna, and there being no strangers’ house, the village consisting of only six or eight houses, he had located himself with his carpet and trinkets

at a respectful distance from them under a neighbouring tree. As we passed he gave us a smile of recognition, but the little brats of boys, a mob of whom had gathered round his wares, set up a yell and cry after us, shouting 'the Ghiours have come,' which they did not cease to repeat until we were out of sight, nor did our friendly-disposed pedlar, as we imagined him to be, use any effort to make them desist. In wandering amongst the few houses, in hopes of finding a guide to show us the easiest way up to the ruins, we surprised a young Turkish woman nursing her infant; the united years of both did not appear to be more than sixteen. She was sitting in the centre of a small court, and her face being uncovered, she displayed features and a complexion which would have graced a better establishment. Our intrusion seemed to give great offence, for as soon as we spoke she buried her face with her child in her lap, in which attitude she remained until we had departed. To all our entreaties and questions respecting the ruins, we received only an uncivil and repulsive command to be off, which was conveyed in a very expressive word in their language, and one often used to dogs,—*Highdey! highdey!*"—vol. i. pp. 74-75.

A similar degree of jealous caution was observed by another lady, who does not appear to have had as good reason for concealing herself from the Giaour.

"I was sorry to learn from Nicolo, that our presence and stay here, although very kindly allowed, was attended with considerable inconvenience to the wife of our host, from the proximity of the hovel to the tent in which she was living. She never once quitted it after our arrival, and when anything was required of her by Nicolo during the day, she remained concealed, except her hands and arms thrust out of the door of the tent, holding the bowl of milk, yaoot, or whatever was required, until it was taken from her by some of her children, as Nicolo did not dare to approach so near. There appear to be two classes or tribes amongst the peasantry, whose habits of life and mode of living are in most matters the same, but with whom the female part act very differently towards strangers. The one which is by far the larger body, rigidly adhere to the Oriental custom of excluding females entirely from the gaze of any one but their own domestic circle; whilst the women of the other do not veil, and freely converse with the men. We could never learn from our guides or servants, that they were distinguished by different names. The Urooks, however, appear to be of the latter class."—vol. i. pp. 176-7.

To those who have explored as pedestrians any of the grassy sheep-pastures which occupy the sites of the old Etruscan cities, the following adventure will be no novelty.

We cannot read it, for our own part, without a lively reminiscence of similar terror, long past, but not yet forgotten. The Italian sheep-dogs are little less fierce than their Lycian brethren.

"Hereabout, we had a sanguinary encounter with the ferocious dogs of the Urooks, which mustering to the number of a dozen, charged us and our cavalcade, and, breaking our ranks, caused our terrified baggage horses to flee in all directions, whilst their Greek owners, in despair, loudly invoked St. Nicolo and the Blessed Virgin for assistance. The masters of the dogs not being at hand to call them off, the affair soon became serious, as the savage brutes began to seize our steeds by the legs and tails, inflicting severe wounds, and occasionally making flying leaps, with the intention of gobbling us up too; nor was it till a bullet was sent through the head of the ringleader, that we succeeded in dispersing them, and rallying our routed cavalry. Half an hour after, the same scene was enacted anew by another batch of canines; and our fire-arms had again to be put into requisition, in this case not without sundry threats from the owners of the dogs, who had refused at first to call them off. As these animals are valuable to their masters, we avoided as much as possible injuring them; and only on this occasion were we obliged to slay in self-defence, though it often required the greatest forbearance and courage to endure their attacks, which, from the size and ferocity of the assailants, are dangerous encounters. Almost always, however, the peasants did their best to prevent mischief, as soon as they knew from the rush and bark of the dogs that strangers were near."—vol. ii. pp. 123-5.

Rich as Lycia is in classical recollections and remains, it is not without its Christian associations also. The visit of St. Paul to Myra, even more than its own political importance, led to the high ecclesiastical rank which the bishop held; and the metropolitan of Myra with his thirty-seven suffragans, occupied an important place in all the religious controversies anterior to the Saracen occupation of the country. It is gratifying to meet among the relics of the Greek mythology, and of its still more ancient predecessor, traces of the foot-prints of that holier faith which, alas, has now become but historical in these once happy lands.

"Attracted by some ruins visible from the summit, we descended. These we found were also of two ages, viz., rock-tombs and marble fragments, indicative of the Greek, but more numerous and scattered remains of middle-age date, consisting of foundations of walls, and a large Christian cathedral of early Byzantine archi-

ture, one of the most interesting and picturesque, as well as best preserved ruins in Lycia. This very beautiful building had escaped Sir C. Fellows, who passed within two or three hundred yards of it. It is a noble fabric, and one which excited on examination a deep interest. It is but little incommoded by rubbish and bushes, so that we were enabled to place ourselves at once without difficulty under the lofty dome in the centre or body of the church, and survey its interior, where the noisy chat of a disturbed jackdaw, as it took wing through a large aperture in the vaulted roof, was the only sound to break the solemn stillness then reigning within this impressive ruin. Its eastern end is terminated by a semicircle interrupted by long windows, the tall stone and brick pillars between them standing disconnected, their arches above having broken down. The greater part of this cathedral, however, still remains perfect; and it was pleasing to see the tenacity with which stone, brick, and mortar, had so long held together against the ravages of time, and through which, in all probability, will be preserved yet many ages this venerable relic of early days, when Christianity flourished in the country. For an idea of the building the reader is referred to the view and hasty sketch of its ground-plan. We had entered Lycia with a thirst for relics of the earlier days of its history. Lycian tombs, Lycian monuments, and Lycian cities, were the principal objects of our search; but here that interest was unexpectedly arrested, and the solemn grandeur of the old and solitary Christian church, towering above Pagan temple, and Moslem mosque, excited a warmer and healthier admiration, though its age were comparatively modern, and its architecture barbarous."—vol. ii. pp. 105-107.

These are not the only Christian remains which came under the travellers' notice. At another place, near Eski Hissar, they found a cell in the face of a cliff near the summit of a mountain, the walls of which were painted with figures of the Saints, still in good preservation—"the retreat of some early Christian anchorite, whence, whilst himself secluded among savage and almost inaccessible rocks, he overlooked the busy villages and fertile valleys which lay spread out below his airy habitation."

But it is now more than time to have done. And yet we have still left almost untouched the second volume, which itself might well deserve a special notice. It contains the results of the researches of Professor Forbes, in the natural history of the province. The botany and geology are extremely interesting; but we must pass them by. In justice, however, to the great merits of the gentleman to whom this department was specially entrusted, we

cannot avoid transcribing one or two passages descriptive of the "odd fish" of the *Ægean*—

"Of his genus *πολυπους*, which is equivalent to the genus *Octopus* and its subdivision *Eledone* in modern systems, Aristotle distinguishes six species, four of them unprovided with shells, and two living in shells. He remarks that the polypi are the only cuttle-fish formed for walking, which in consequence of the relative proportions of their body and arms they can easily do. Any person who ever dredged one of these creatures, knows the rapidity with which it can make its way by means of its long arms, even when out of its native element. Aristotle states it comes out of the water and walks in stony places. In the sudden falls, lasting not very long, of the sea level, which occur from various causes in the bays of the countries in and round the *Ægean*, these creatures may be met with walking on the exposed shore, and so have led to this notion; but it is doubtful whether they ever wander of their own choice above the usual water-mark. *Ælian*, however, who seems to have decorated most of the observations he thought worthy of record, tells us that the *Octopus* sometimes ascends trees! Aristotle describes the polypus as tenacious of life, but killed if its neck be squeezed. (Book ix. c. 17.) This remark probably refers to the existence of a practice by which the Greek fishermen of our own times destroy the *Octopus* and other cuttle-fishes. They turn back the arms over the head, and seizing the latter with their teeth, compress it in the region of the brain. Thus the creature is instantaneously killed. The remarkable changes of colour presented by the polypus were noticed by the ancients, and the truth of the statement of Aristotle, that such change is suddenly produced by fear, may be easily verified by observing one of these creatures when suddenly taken out of the water."—vol. ii. pp. 97, 98.

It is interesting to find these confirmations of the general accuracy of the great olden naturalist, whom it has been too much the fashion to decry as a hasty observer and a credulous retailer of the supposed observations of others. Mr. Forbes has in many cases vindicated his accuracy.

One extract more and we take our leave—

"The *Argonaut*, which is one of the two kinds of *μαλακία* with shells, is either very rare or does not range to that coast. It is well known, however, in the bays of the mainland of Greece. In describing it Aristotle for once appears to have given way to popular report, and not made use of his own observations. His second kind of polypus inhabiting a shell, '*οιον κοχλίας*,' and attached to it like the animal of an ordinary univalve, has been regarded as the *Nautilus Pompilius*. But that remarkable mollusk does not live in

the Mediterranean, and considering the extreme rarity of the opportunities, even now, of observing it alive in its native sea—the Indian Ocean—we can scarcely suppose that it could have come under Aristotle's notice. The animal to which he alludes was far more probably the *Carinaria mediterranea*, a pteropodous mollusk, having a shell closely resembling that of an Argonaut. It lives in the Ægean, and, as it is a swimmer, might easily be confounded generically with the latter. It belongs to the same order with the *Firola* or *Pterotrachea*, a curious creature, two or three inches long or more, resembling the fish called *Hippocampus*, or sea horse, in shape, but of soft translucent jelly-like substance. Yet though so tender and fragile, these mollusks are among the most ferocious of marine animals. When cruising off the Lycian coast during the warm weather at the close of autumn we used to collect them in a tow-net, and then, placing them in glass jars full of sea-water, watch their habits. Delicate and beautiful as they seemed, the chief object of each seemed to be the destruction of his companions. The only hard parts in their bodies are a pair of horny jaws. With these, a *Firola* would seize some individual of the same species, not so strong as itself, and mercilessly tear its writhing prey, and devour it. It is a popular notion that no animals become cannibals from choice except man. The believers in that vain fancy never saw *Firolæ* in their native element.

"In sunny and calm spring weather the Lycian sea, at some distance from shore, seems as if filled with glancing needles of glass. A similar appearance may be observed in fine days in winter, but is due to a different cause. In the former case the appearance is produced by the presence of numerous mollusks of the order *Pteropoda*, and belonging to the genus *Criseis*, creatures bearing slender, transparent, pointed needle-shaped shells. From the wider ends of these they spread out their organs of motion, resembling the wings of butterflies, by means of which they dance up and down and move in all directions in the water, even as insects do in the air. The glassy needles of the winter sea are long threads of silicious substance formed of animalculæ jointed end to end. When kept some time the joints separate and move about independently."—vol. ii. pp. 100-102.

From the length and copiousness of these extracts, it will easily be inferred that we attach great value to the work of Messrs. Spratt and Forbes. At a time when monumental records form so important an item in the materials of historical study, every new contribution to the existing stock becomes doubly valuable by the additional light which it throws upon those materials which we already possess. The gentlemen, whose work we have been considering, have cleared up many points which Fellows

and Beaufort had left obscure; they have started new views, of which their predecessors never dreamed, and which it is reserved for those who shall follow them, to investigate and pursue.

And so it is, not only with the details of every particular branch of ancient history, considered in itself, but also with the great questions of general history in their bearing upon one another. The history of the early Lycian races may, or may not, be valuable for its own sake; but in its relation to the primeval distribution of the great human family, and to so many of its early affiliations as have left their imprint upon history, whether traditional or monumental;—in its bearing on the various ethnological and ethnographical questions, which, even in a doctrinal point of view, have recently become so important, it would be a grievous mistake to regard it as merely a subject for curious research. Most probably, although it has often been attempted, it will never be given to man to realize the idea of a universal archæology—a full and comprehensive comparative investigation of the early monuments of every known race of the new world as well as of the old: but, even partially and imperfectly pursued, such an investigation will be a natural and necessary complement of the study of comparative philology, which during the last fifty years has been cultivated so successfully, and with so much benefit to religious truth, as well as to the general interests of science.

ART. IX.—*The Men of Letters and Science, who flourished in the Times of George III.* By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, Member of the National Institute of France.—D'ALEMBERT.

LORD BROUGHAM introduces the present article with an emphatic eulogy on the study of the mathematics. A higher or more apposite theme of praise could hardly, indeed, be chosen, for they constitute not only an important branch of the great scientific circle, to every section of which, while quite independent, in their own sphere, of all extraneous support, they are essential auxiliaries, and scarcely less are the arts tributary to their aid,

but, again, their pursuit, in its absorbing empire and concentrated mental action, ensures to the devoted aspirant a self-resource and refuge from the world's turmoil. To this mighty influence on human attainments, with which mathematics are so extensively interwoven, and which induced Plato to make their culture an indispensable qualification of admission to his Academy—"Οὐδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσὶν,"*—his lordship superadds a scarcely inferior moral effect. "They occupy," he asserts, "the attention entirely, abstracting it from all other considerations. Sir Isaac Newton is said to have forgotten the season of his meals; and greater tranquillity is possessed by none than by mathematicians." This affirmed serenity of mind and temper, the retributive homage, we trust, of personal experience, in its general application does not always bear the test of inquiry; but what is related of Sir Isaac, we may state, was exemplified to a much greater extent by the celebrated Vieta. And Madame Perier, the sister of Pascal, informs us that her father, (one of the originators of the Academy of Sciences, with the Minim, Father Marseenne, Roberval, and others, previous to its royal institution in 1666,) conscious of the predominant passion in himself, had removed from his son's access every volume or object of scientific attraction, lest the early indicated predilection should impede the child's necessary classical tuition. The precaution, however, proved in vain; for we are assured that, as if intuitively, without book or teacher, by a process of his own, which his sister explains, he advanced to the thirty-second problem of Euclid's first book. A similar apprehension had induced Galileo's father to counteract his son's instinctive astronomical propensities, but with equal failure of success. These illustrations of his views his lordship has not adverted to, nor, again, to the striking fact of Pascal's relief from, or insensibility to, an excruciating tooth-ache, when engaged intensely in solving the problem of the curve called "La Roulette, or Cycloid;" a salutary effect of science, without example, it would seem, in the time of Shakspeare, who makes Leonato say to his brother Antonio, (*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act v. scene 1.)

"There never was yet philosopher,
That could endure the tooth-ache patiently."

* Diogenes Laertius, tom. i. edit. Meibomii Amsterd. 1692, 4to.

None of our great dramatist's commentators have referred to this fact, which probably was unknown to them, as little in their course of reading.

But the most signal proof or instance of this absorption of the mind, also omitted, was that of Archimedes, who, amidst the tumult of a stormed city, and encircled by a soldiery panting for blood and rapine, was found, in total abstraction from the frightful scene, tracing the figures of a geometrical problem—"intantum formis quas in pulvere descriperat," as stated by Livy, (lib. xxv. 31.) Plutarch, however (in Marcello, p. 552, edit. H. Stephani, 1572), is more explicit. He tells us that, when seized by a soldier, Archimedes earnestly entreated a short respite to conclude his solution, and on the soldier's refusal, while resisting an attempt to drag him to Marcellus, was slain. "*Οὐκ εβουλέτο πρίν ἢ τελέσαι το πρόβλημα, καὶ καταστησαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.*" The event cannot fail to call in recollection the similar request and fate of Lavoisier, in revolutionary France. One hundred and thirty-nine years after, (U. C. 540—679.) Cicero, then Questor of Sicily, discovered this wonder-working man's tomb, and prided himself that he, "homo Arpinas," should have been so very fortunate, (Quæst. Tuscul. v. 23.) In the last century (1747) Buffon experimentally proved the power of burning mirrors, such as Archimedes employed for the destruction of the Roman fleet and batteries.* His lordship's introductory pages, we must say, are filled with matter by no means bearing with equal point or interest, as these facts, on his expressed object, which would have been better supported by apposite examples than by general assertion.

Yet this abstraction of thought, here more peculiarly attributed to mathematicians, is not less, we believe, the produced effect of other pursuits, such as metaphysics, which, in their mazes, enfold and entrance the faculties with quite as puissant a grasp. Various passions, enthusiastic excitements, ascetic fervour, or morbid illusions, as we daily witness, hold fully as exclusive possession of the imagination; and so, likewise, do the arts, music, painting, architecture, &c. And if D'Alembert, as his lordship affirms, sought repose in his cherished mathematics,

* The largest burning glass probably known, was presented to the Emperor of China in 1792, by Lord Macartney.

Lagrange, assuredly not his inferior as an analyst,* frequently found recreation from their fatigue in natural history with Prévot (of Geneva), professor of philosophy at Berlin, who, in his "*Recherches sur la Chaleur*," publish-

* An anecdote demonstrative of this, perhaps the first of analyst's humane sensibilities, derived from the information of the late M. Geoffroi Saint-Hilaire, may not be unwelcome to the reader. Witness, on a special invitation, of M. Majendie's experiments on living animals, or *vivasection*, Lagrange was so affected by the excruciating tortures thus inflicted, that he expressed his determination never again to attend a meeting of the Academy of Sciences during these operations. Existing *lusus naturæ*, as if prepared by nature for the purpose, exhibited, he contended, the required results, without such outrages on her more perfect creatures. Physical truth could not, he equally sustained, be more surely discovered in the palpitating fibres, or convulsed members of tortured animals, than moral evidence could be elicited by the application to the human frame of the rack. At the desire of our late benevolent friend Mr. Martin, then representing Galway, we addressed a letter, in consonance of feeling and argument with Lagrange, to Majendie, maintaining that, "*les palpitations et contractions des chaires vivantes, où se promène le fer scrutateur n'ont pour effet que de fausser le résultat des expériences.*" But the appeal both to reason and humanity was unheard. It was to the refuge afforded the archbishop of Paris M. de Queslen, at the Jardin des Plantes, by Geoffroi Saint-Hilaire the successor of Cuvier, with whom he was then associated, that the venerable prelate for a while owed his safety in February 1831, when pursued with murderous intention by the sanguinary populace, whose infuriate cries still memoratively resound in our ears. Saint-Hilaire's original destination was the church, whence he was diverted by arising events to the study of natural history, in which he ranked second only to Cuvier; but an intercourse with so admirable a personage as M. de Queslen, in act and manner the Fénelon and Belzunce of his age, was happily calculated to uphold unimpaired the instilled principles of his early life. With many other naturalists, he derided the over-weening pretensions of mathematicians to scientific superiority, which Buffon in particular, repelled with indignant warmth, although one of his earliest publications was a version of Newton's "*Method of Fluxions*," from a translation of the original Latin manuscript found among Sir Isaac's papers after his death. This translation by Coates appeared in 1736, as did Buffon's version the following year—a purely mathematical work, as the title sufficiently avers; but though first in cultivation, mathematics subsequently yielded to the more varied field and corresponding attractions of nature's sphere of action, which found in him, if not the profoundest, cer-

ed in 1792, slight as were then the materials prepared, or studies directed to the subject, exhibited no indistinct foresight of the laws of heat, subsequently demonstrated by the successive experiments of Rumford, Leslie, Dulong, Petit, Neumann, Avogadro, Forbes, and Powell. The veriest trifle, we may add on the authority of Horace, will narrow the powers of mind to a single point of convergence, when he describes himself, as was his wont, "*Nescio quid meditans nugarum, et totus in illis;*" and so the impassioned lover, as Rousseau, with the late L. E. L., respectively, make the heroes of their tales, St. Preux and Churchill, assert, the universe is centred in a single being. So, too, in the intenseness of a mother's love, did Madame de Sévigné contemplate her daughter.

"An uninterrupted calm, and an agreeable temper of mind," are also pronounced by his lordship to be the peculiar attributes of mathematicians. Whether, in this representation, we may view "*Raffaelle da se stesso dipinto;*" and how far this soul-tranquilizing science, the earliest object, we understand, of Lord Brougham's intellectual exertions, may, like *Æolus*, have enchained the stormy elements, and lulled to placid repose the inborn strife of his nature, we stop not to enquire. But many a geometerian we shall have occasion to name, as we proceed, by no means remarkable for these imputed qualities; and amongst them the subject even of this article, whom his disciple Morellet describes, as "*tempétant et jurant selon sa mauvaise habitude,*" on every exciting occurrence. Our Cambridge professor, Saunderson, was addicted to the same profane habit, and was far from bearing the deprivation of sight with the patient resignation displayed by Euler, or Gough of Kendal, under that infliction. Even Newton became for a time irritable and estranged from his friends, as his and Halley's dissensions from Flamsteed, and his temporary alienation from Locke, attest. His unruffled endurance of the destruction of his work, as we are told, "*On the Theory of Colours,*" is, indeed, evidence of his equanimity; but not more so than Mon-

tainly the most eloquent of expositors. Yet lauded and deservedly by Gibbon and others, as his article on the Horse is, can it be superior to the description proceeding from the divine lips in the book of Job, cap. xxxix. 19-25. "*Vah! Procul odoratur bellum, exhortationem ducum, et ululatum exercitus, &c?*"

tesquieu's equal restraint on his feelings, when he similarly found the manuscript of his "Life of Louis XI." reduced to ashes. Such, at least, is the reported forbearance, constitutional or reflective, from temperament or philosophy, in these trying instances, of those distinguished men. But that the bosoms of mathematicians are not closed on our common emotions, their own records afford ample proof in their rivalry, too often pursued beyond courteous bounds, as between Fermat and Descartes, Pascal also with Descartes and Torricelli, Newton and Leibnitz with their respective partisans, and, as at this moment, between the English and French relative to the recent planet. It is likewise well known that the jealous emulation of Euler and D'Alembert incited the former in 1754, when president of the Berlin Academy, which had just witnessed the contentions of Wolfe and Maupertuis, to prevent D'Alembert's "*Essai sur la Résistance des Fluides*" from being awarded the proposed prize; for, though it did not conclusively solve the question, which, according to Lacroix, is still unsolved, its superiority in every respect over the preferred and crowned essay could admit of little doubt, for it established the grounds of the exact theory of the movement of fluids, as well as opened the way to the application of the calculus of partial differences to natural history. The contestations referred to by Lord Brougham at page 441, between Clairaut and D'Alembert, are impartially appreciated, and certainly not much to the latter's credit. When, moreover, Clairaut applied his investigation of the disturbing forces to Halley's comet of 1682, which was expected to be again visible in 1759, according to the English astronomer's prediction, D'Alembert availed himself, in no friendly mode, of an error not exceeding twenty-two days in the calculation, which La Place, in his "*Exposition du Système du Monde*," says would have been reduced to thirteen days, had the mass of Saturn been then more correctly ascertained, or the existence of Uranus, and probably, we may add, of other yet undiscovered though not unimportant planets, been known. This comet again, in confirmation of Halley's computed intervals of return, visited our firmament in 1836; but notwithstanding the labour expended on the subject, more especially within the last few years, by Pontécoulant, Rosenberger, Lubbock, and others, we must wait for its recurrent period of about seventy-six years, or till 1911, to

test how far these improvements of calculation may have removed all interposed difficulties, and reduced what was problematical to a defined result. Previously likewise, in 1747, another dissension had arisen between the two French academicians, in their competition for the prize on the problem of the "Three Bodies;" and though D'Alembert may have been more generally right, their individual habits and tempers were distinctively conspicuous in their variant conduct; the one polite and gentlemanly, as we find him described by the Abbé Bossut, in his "*Histoire Générale des Mathématiques*," tome ii. (Paris, 1810), and as we may infer from Lord Chesterfield's letter of 1st January, 1753, to his son; while the other, D'Alembert, as we have already seen, was discourteous and ungracious, though not radically ill-natured. Clairaut was a still more precocious child than Pascal; but as his father, a mathematical teacher, anxiously forwarded the boy's early propensities, while those of Pascal were studiously repressed, a fair comparison cannot well be established of their inborn powers. Clairaut's death in 1765, delivered D'Alembert of a rival, "*qui le tenait toujours en haleine*," as Grimm remarks, but it also deprived him of a corresponding incentive to exertion. Yet another competitor for the mathematical supremacy in France, for Euler held the European sceptre, survived, but who is altogether overlooked by Lord Brougham. This was Fontaine (Alexis des Bertins), at that period placed by public opinion in full parallel of merit with either geometrician; for, though possibly not so extensively or profoundly versed in the science, he was thought more inventive and original. Indeed, to him was by many ascribed, as well as claimed by himself, the earlier discovery, in 1739, of the general principle of dynamics, while D'Alembert's treatise did not appear till 1745; but as his own "*Mémoire*" saw not the light before 1764, the priority can hardly be awarded to him. In truth, as registry ensures precedence in legal, so should publication in learned, claims; and so, accordingly, it now does in respect to the newly-discovered planet, of which the glory appropriately belongs to M. Leverrier.* "*Je n'aime point*

* The rule like all others, is not unexceptional, as the controversy on the Differential Calculus between Newton and Leibnitz shows; for Newton certainly was the first inventor, and as he said in his letter to the Oratorian Antonio Conti, in April 1716,

les auteurs *en poche*," is no unfrequent expression, thus applied, with M. Arago. Fontaine's temper, proud and reserved, presents an additional exception to Lord Brougham's assumed fact of mathematical quietude, if, indeed, we should not invert the characteristics, and generalize the exception. At this, and the immediately consequent period, such was the advance in the field of science, under the co-operating efforts of its cultivators over Europe at large, that Condorcet, long the secretary of the Parisian Academy, in his "*Esquisse des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*," confidently asserts that a student, just emerged from his college course, was in 1794, when he wrote this work, more forward in mathematics than even Newton was, or could have been, only a century before. And this he has equally affirmed in his "*Discourse of Reception*" at the French Academy in 1782, when he defeated his competitor Bailly. In this progressive movement, rather, we may presume, exaggerated, though, doubtless, very great, Condorcet claims a large share for his friend D'Alembert, not only as produced by his own contributions, but by those to which he stimulated the young aspirants to scientific fame, including Condorcet himself, who was an enthusiast in the appreciation of mathematics, which he considered paramount to all human acquirements—the conducting road to the perfectibility which he fondly reckoned our earthly nature was destined eventually to reach. Here, truly, our noble biographer may invoke a powerful evidence in support of his alleged preponderance of mathematics in the intellectual scale, to which we can add another instance of similar enthusiasm, though less authoritative, because of less practical weight, that of the poet Novalis, or, more properly, Frederick Von Hardenberg, who, in his "*Moral Ansichter*," (Paris, 1837, 8vo.) maintains that no pursuit more than mathematics inspires a profound devotion, without which they cannot be successfully cultivated, while, in unison of effort, and combination of power with philosophy, poetry, and religion, of which he declares pure mathematics the type, they become the sources of instruction and models of imitation, in every department of mental exertion.

His lordship's example having betrayed us into these

"Whether Mr. Leibnitz invented it after me or had it from me, signifies not, for second inventors have no right."

lengthened prefatory observations, we now proceed to the biographical narrative which various opportunities of communication with D'Alembert's friends or associates, and other means of information, either not open to, or neglected by, Lord Brougham, may enable us to present in a more correct and enlarged view of acts and character, than that exhibited by his lordship. Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, so named from having been exposed as a foundling on the steps of a church no longer existing, that of St. Jean le Rond, near the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, was born the 16th or 17th of November, 1717, the fruit of an illegitimate intercourse between a Commissary of Artillery, called Destouches *Canon*, to distinguish him from the dramatic writer, *Nericault* Destouches, and Madame de Tencin, sister to the Cardinal of that name, for whom our elder Pretender, acknowledged at Rome as James III., obtained that dignity, as he likewise had for Cardinal Polignac, using the privilege of Catholic royalty. (See *Mémoires de St. Simon*, vi. 387.)* While, though unmarried, this lady was addressed as *Madame*, his lordship attributes it to her advanced years; but were he better acquainted with the laws and customs of France, he would have known that, as a *Canoness*, which he represents her and truly, after being relieved from her religious vows, extorted, according to her averment, when very young, the title of Madame was her established right. Age made no difference; for Madame de Genlis became a Canoness of the Chapter of Alix in 1753, when only seven years old, and as such, bore the matronly designation,

* To Polignac the sarcastic duke is by no means favourable; but Tencin and his sister are depicted at volume 18, chapter 1, in the most odious colours, probably exaggerated, yet we fear, substantially true; while their abilities, however perverted, are acknowledged in fulness of extent. It was in the old church of St. Jean-Le-Rond, that the learned *Ménage*, the Vadius of Molière's *Femmes Savantes*, was buried on his death in 1692. Not distant from it is the "Rue des Marmousets," where, at No. 6, stood the town residence of François Arouet, the father of Voltaire, in 1694; when, however, the son was born at Châtenay, within five miles of Paris, whither his mother had temporarily removed for country air. The epitaph for this extraordinary person by Madame de Montolieu, authoress of that most interesting romance, "*Caroline de Lichtfield*," is perfectly applicable.—"Cigit l'enfant gâté du monde qu'il gata."

with that of Comtesse de Lancy. "Le plaisir de m'entendre appeler *Madame* surpassa pour moi tous les autres," writes this celebrated lady, whose society we have had the pleasure of enjoying. (*Mémoires*, tome i. p. 48.) The Chapter to which Madame de Tencin belonged, was that of Neuville near Lyons. We know several ladies, some of our family connections, who bore the title until married, as do others still single, who thus possess the social independence otherwise uniformly refused to unwedded female life on the continent. Admission into some of the German Chapters, Catholic or Protestant, was of the greatest difficulty, as the slightest stain on even an imperial escutcheon would be an insuperable ground of exclusion. (See Bignon's *Histoire de France*, tome ix. p. 93.) The Protestant sovereigns preserved these establishments as provision for unmarried daughters. Thus, Amelia, the Great Frederick's sister, became a Canoness on being separated from the ill-fated Trenk, with whom we formed an acquaintance at Paris, where the revolutionary axe terminated his variegated career, the 25th of July, 1794, only forty-eight hours before Robespierre's overthrow, so narrow was the interval between his execution and secured life, had he survived that event! Madame de Tencin was equally celebrated for her wit and beauty, which, in their united influence, assembled round her the chosen company, who, or their successors, subsequently filled the circles of Mesdames Duffaut and Geoffin, and Mademoiselle L'Espinasse, forming what were not inaptly termed—"Des Bureaux d'Esprit." His lordship quotes an advice of Madame de Tencin to those who seek friends—"to prefer women to men, as friends, however, not as lovers, because more zealous to serve those they wish well to." The lady's recommendation was addressed to Marмонтel, who so informs us, on the threshold of his Parisian life—"de se faire des *amies* plutôt que des amis; car au moyen des femmes on fait tout ce qu'on veut des hommes." But the Jesuit, Father Castel's similar counsel to J. J. Rousseau, is expressed more in the language of D'Alembert. "On ne fait rien dans Paris que par le moyen des femmes: ce sont comme des courbes dant les sages sont les asymptotes: ils s'en approchent sans cesse, mais ils n'y touchent jamais."

The Commissary of Police seeing the forsaken infant extremely delicate, instead of sending him as usual to the

Foundling Hospital, gave him to nurse to the wife of a poor glazier, named Rosseau, who cherished him with truly maternal affection; and most sensible did he ever prove himself of her care. He resided with her for nearly forty years in an obscure street, "la rue Michel-le-Comte," at No. 17, as was indicated to us above half a century ago; though, as the house long since fell to utter decay, his lordship could discover no trace of it. The graphic story of his answer to Madame de Tencin, who, proud of his rising fame in after-life, presented herself to him as his mother—"Que me dites-vous là Madame? Ah! vous n'êtes qu'une marâtre: c'est la vitrière qui est ma mère," as related by Lord Brougham and others, is wholly unfounded. It is one of those sayings invented to make impression, such as D'Alembert himself scrupled not to fabricate in furtherance of his infidel views; for instance, when he ascribed to the dying Montesquieu, in repulse, as we have elsewhere stated, of our countryman, Father Routh's exhortations, words never expressed, as we were assured by an attendant at the fatal hour, confirmed by Dom Devienne's "*Histoire de Bordeaux*," page 504—"I have lived long enough to know how to die."—(Lord Charlemont's *Life*, p. 11.)

"On ne pouvait pas," says Ducos, D'Alembert's predecessor as Secretary to the French Academy, and who, though an unbeliever, felt so indignant at the blasphemies of Diderot and others, that he warned them of the effect—"Vous faites tant, Messieurs, que vous me rendrez en fin chrétien!"—"On ne pouvait pas," said he, "avoir plus d'esprit que Madame de Tencin, et elle avait toujours celui de la personne à qui elle avait affaire." Marmontel, who found in her an early patroness, confirms this eulogy of her talent, in the fourth book of his "*Mémoires*;" and a melodrama, founded on her adventurous life, is now in course of representation on the Parisian stage. Her romances, "*Le Comte de Comminges*," and "*Le Siège de Calais*," are still read; but by some attributed to her nephews, Pont-de-Veyle, and D'Argental, Voltaire's correspondent. She died in 1749, it was said, at least may be desired, repentant.

D'Alembert's parents, did not, however, lose sight of him; and most probably their apparent desertion of the child was concerted with the Commissary of Police, as well as his transfer to the care of the glazier's wife, for the

protection of his guilty mother, under her peculiar position. A life pension was settled on him by his father, of twelve hundred livres, which Lord Brougham, unauthorizedly reduces to one thousand, and estimates at £40, whereas the value, at the exchange of that period as during the late war from 1803 to 1814, exceeded fifty guineas, and was fully equivalent to £100, of present currency, while, until 1772, when nominated Secretary to the French Academy, he never enjoyed much more. Frederick, indeed, offered him 20,000 livres appointment, with the Presidency of the Berlin Academy; and Catherine, we are told, even extended the sum to 100,000, as an inducement to undertake her son Paul's education; but his cherished independence was beyond all price, and the almost sovereign sway over the literature and science of Paris, which he wielded, was equally unpurchaseable, far superior, in his estimation, to all pecuniary seduction, which never, in fact, possessed the least influence on his mind or conduct. The place of Secretary, however, in advancing his income to 8,200 livres, or francs, (then convertible terms, but since 1804, the former has ceased to be used,) placed him in comfortable circumstances, and gave him an apartment at the Louvre. In the First Series of Lord Brougham's *Statesmen*, page 378, it is asserted that the Empress Catherine, paid D'Alembert 100,000 francs for his library, leaving him the life use of it; which is an error, for it was to Diderot she acted this generous part, though not to the extent here named, as the sum did not exceed 66,000 francs, then still corresponding to three thousand pounds British. In this statement his lordship doubly errs.

At the Collège des Quatre Nations, or Navarre, D'Alembert's talents were first directed by his masters to theology, and he even attempted a commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, thus beginning, observes Condorcet, as Newton ended, by a commentary on the bible. After leaving the college, however, he studied the law, though he never followed it professionally, and soon relinquished it for medicine, as more akin both in preparation and exercise to his favourite scientific aspirations. These, with an occasional excursion into the regions of literature, to diversify his labours, soon wholly employed his mind, at the sacrifice of every emolumental profession. The rapidly produced fruits at once evinced the accord of the pursuit with his genius by their marked success; and

in 1741, after having enriched the records of the Academy of Sciences with Essays on the Integral Calculus, and on the Movement of Solid Bodies in Fluids, he became associated with that institution. His Treatise on Dynamics, was published in 1743, which was succeeded the ensuing year by a more general one on Fluids, forming a continuation or supplement of it, and in which, though proceeding on the principles of the Swiss brothers, John and Daniel Bernouilli, he rectified some of their incidental errors. In 1747, his "*Reflexions sur la Cause Générale des Vents*," appeared, and obtained the prize proposed for the subject by the Prussian Academy, to whose sovereign it was dedicated in three Latin lines, complimentary of Frederick's successful but unprincipled seizure of Silesia.* It was with similar discreditable adulation, that in 1771, he with Voltaire and Diderot, felicitated that monarch and the Russian empress on that most flagitious of political crimes, the partition of Poland. Yet, though accepting their flattery, Catherine was by no means a dupe to their baseness—"Pour une pension de quelques roubles," said she, "l'enthousiaste Diderot m'a pronée comme la première des femmes. Pour un présent de fourrures, ou pour de vaines cajoleries, Voltaire et D'Alembert n'ont cessé de m'appeler la Sémiramis du Nord." On the vile conduct of these philosophers in relation to Poland, M. Romain Cornut's volume, "*Voltaire et la Pologne*," should be consulted. But, to this treatise on Winds, now of rare occurrence, we find little, or no reference, in the numerous English or American writers, such as Colonel Reid, Mr. Redfield,

* Simultaneously with this unjustifiable irruption on Maria Teresa's hereditary states, appeared at Amsterdam in 1741, his "*Anti-Machiavel*;" which, however, had passed through the press just before he ascended the throne, when it was too late to arrest or suppress the publication, so flagrantly contradicted by this infraction of its principles. Frederick revived a claim on Silesia, obsolete by some centuries, if ever fair, just as our English code or *nullum tempus* act, disallowed all prescription of time against royal or ecclesiastical demands, thus leaving the sword of Damocles perpetually suspended, as the Irish so injuriously experienced under Lord Strafford, over landed proprietors. But this anomalous exception to equitable legislation, was at length modified by an act introduced by Lord Chancellor Camden, which liberated the landholders from the grievance, after a possession of sixty years. (See Lord Campbell's *Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 291.)

Mr. Espy, Mr. Thoms, Mr. Snow Harris, Professors Dove and Loomis, and Messieurs Osler, Foster, and Whewell, now engaged in the same sphere of research, and unfolding the theory and laws of winds and storms. A century ago, indeed, physical science had made comparatively small advances in magnetism and electricity, so intimately connected with meteorology; nor does D'Alembert at any time appear to have directed much of his attention to their cultivation. In 1747, he addressed to the same Academy of Sciences, a solution of the famous problem of the "Three Bodies," in competition with Clairaut, which, as already stated, generated some personal alienation. This problem, while more extensively applicable, is, in ordinary construction, according to Lord Brougham, confined to the particular case of gravitation operative on our sun, earth, and moon, or three bodies attracting each other by the law of gravitation, but of which one is incomparably larger than the other two. Thus, the mass of the sun is 350,000 times that of the earth, which again is sixty-eight or sixty-nine times that of the moon, so that the material volume of the great luminary is about twenty-four millions of times, (not twenty-five, as inaccurately calculated by his lordship,) equal to that of the moon. D'Alembert's "*Recherches sur le Système du Monde*," published from 1754 to 1756, in three quarto volumes, had for object and result the confirmation of the Newtonian system. The work had been preceded in 1749, by his "*Researches on the Precession of the Equinoxes*," and the "*Nutation of the Earth's Axis*." His "*Opuscles Mathématiques*," extending to eight tomes in quarto, and embracing a large collection of elucidated subjects, were spread over nineteen years, or from 1761 to 1780, of impression, while his "*Eléments de Musique suivant les Principes de Rameau*," made clear what that musician's ignorance of mathematics had left obscure in his works—"Le Code de Musique"—*La Démonstration de l'Harmonie*," and "*Les Réflexions Nouvelles, &c.*" Their personal harmony was, however, soon interrupted, on Rameau's seeing Rousseau preferred for the musical articles of the *Cyclopædia*; as our David Hume felt hurt, temporarily at least, with his junior Robertson's appointment as royal historiographer in preference to himself. But here we cannot pass unnoticed, a signal instance of Lord Brougham's unacquaintance with the relative ages or per-

sonal history of eminent mathematicians. At page 412, Bossut, (Charles, called L'Abbé, though only in minor orders,) it is stated, "was the intimate friend, and, indeed, may have been said to have been the pupil of D'Alembert and Condorcet." Bossut, however, born in 1730, was not only thirteen years the senior of Condorcet, whose birth dates from 1743, but had so distinguished himself that, when Condorcet had not passed his ninth year, in 1752, he, this child's so-called pupil, was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the Artillery College of Mézières, and chosen a correspondent of the Academy of Sciences. He shortly after gained, or divided, once even with Euler, various academic prizes, before Condorcet's first publication, "*Essai sur le Calcul Intégral*," appeared in 1765. His "*Histoire Générale des Mathématiques*," translated by J. Bonycastle, was first printed in 1802, succeeded in 1810 by an improved edition in two octavo volumes. Though during a long life, and at his death in 1814, he was a faithful son of the Church, his temper did not always correspond with that which Lord Brougham so confidently associates with mathematical avocation, for he was rather morose and unconciliating. His *Eloge* was pronounced by Delambre at the Academy of Sciences, where he was succeeded by M. Ampère, (the chosen friend of Sir Humphrey Davy at Paris, in 1813,) lately deceased, and equally adherent to his religious principles. Not so, unfortunately, another *Savant* of the period and admirer of D'Alembert, Lalande, the most celebrated, though certainly not the ablest, astronomer of his day. Far from veiling his disbelief of a Deity, he vauntingly proclaimed his atheism; and in the Supplement to Sylvain Maréchal's most impious "*Dictionnaire des Atheés*," at page 14, (1805, 8vo.) he thus avouches this melancholy aberrance of a gifted mind—"Je me félicite plus de mes progrès en athéisme que de ceux que je puis avoir faits en astronomie." This and other similar declarations, subversive of social order, as undermining the only firm groundwork of public or individual morality, roused, in the deep conviction of such an effect, the intense indignation of Napoleon, who, then radiant with the glory of Austerlitz, and from the very field of his gathered laurels, addressed a letter, in December, 1805, to his Minister of the Interior, Champagny, which he ordered to be read in the bosom of the Institute. "Ce n'est pas le fanatisme qui est la maladie à

craindre maintenant, c'est l'athéisme," truly for the period expressed this sagacious ruler. But see on the subject—"Opinions, &c., de Napoleon recueillies par le Comte Pellet, (de la Lozere,)" p. 210. The religious errings, however, of Lalande, did not impair his scientific talents, and Lord Brougham's constant depreciation of them, (pp. 425—442, &c.,) is not justified by any competent proof. His edition of Montucla's "*Histoire des Mathématiques*," printed in the republican years, vii—x, (or 1799—1802,) 4 volumes quarto, far superior to the original one of 1758, deserves not the epithets applied to it, or to him, by his lordship, though we must allow the inferiority of the two latter volumes, published by Lalande after the author's death, to those revised by Montucla himself. Lalande's irritability of temper is an additional opposed instance to Lord Brougham's lauded influence of mathematical application. It was at the infidel court of Berlin, in 1751, when he had not completed his twentieth year, that Lalande sunk under the baleful *genius loci*, and inhaled its doctrines and spirit. He was sent there by the Academy of Sciences, so early had his astronomical fame been established, to determine the parallax of the moon, or distance of that satellite from the earth; while his instructor, La Caille, proceeded on a similar mission to the Cape of Good Hope, which is nearly under the same meridian of longitude, though almost eighty-seven degrees locally distant of latitude, equivalent, with little difference, to the eighth part of our globe's circumference. Here, too, in opposition to his lordship's undervalue of this celebrated man, we have the favourable testimony of M. de Prony to his edition of Montucla; and the judgment of that eminent Professor of the Polytechnic School, will probably outweigh our noble author's. Lalande's "*Tables de Logarithmes*," have been considered the most correct extant; and his *History of Astronomy*, (1793, 3 vols. 4to.) is still unsurpassed, notwithstanding the intervening half century's advance in the science. Among other singularities, his constant search for and eating spiders is recorded; for his eccentricities were not confined to religious aberrations.

At page 414, his lordship quotes a reference to Father Walmisly, "a young priest of the Benedictine Order, who gave in 1749, an analytical solution of the problem of the Three Bodies." This reverend gentleman, whose name

was Walmsley, not Walmisley, as here written, was in 1756, appointed Vicar Apostolic by Pope Benedict XIV., in England; but a singular circumstance, untowardly for our scientific fame, diverted the appliance of his genius, ere it could put forth its highly raised promise, from mathematics. While celebrating Mass, just after the consecration, and most solemn moment of the Sacrifice, his thoughts unconsciously strayed from their sacred object, to determine the mathematical definitions of the particles of the Host, until called to a sense of his evagation, he at once and for ever, in deep repentance, renounced its seductive cause, and attached his mind to his more direct and commanding studies exclusively. This anecdote we owe to the communication of our esteemed friend, the Rev. Mr. England, of Passage West, to whom it was imparted by the late Mr. Plowden, who had derived the particulars from the prelate himself. He died in 1796, aged seventy-five; but his best mathematical performance—"De Inæqualitatibus Motuum Lunarum," was published at Florence, in 1758, (4to.) so strictly, during the long interval of eight and thirty years, had he kept his vow. His previous works—"La Réduction des Intégrales aux Logarithmes, et aux Arcs de Circles," and his "Théorie du Mouvement des apsides," had appeared at Paris in 1749. He was educated in that capital, and had there obtained the highest theological distinction as Doctor of Sorbonne, before his return to England in 1750, when he was elected a member of the Royal Society, to whose transactions he contributed several valuable papers, and at whose recommendation, particularly enforced by its President, the Earl of Macclesfield, he was employed in preparing *our* adoption, after a bigoted rejection of the acknowledged truth, for above one hundred and seventy years, of the Reformed Calendar, which had legal effect in September, 1752. Rather, it was aptly said, would the English thus quarrel with the heavens, than agree with Rome. Our learned peer, it would seem, knew nought of Dr. Walmsley, or his works, but neither, in his personal course, nor in his publications, would his lordship have found the nutriment for his lately imbibed, or at least declared, anti-catholic rancour, which he may be supposed to expect or desire from the life and labours of a Catholic priest.

Sparing his lordship and our readers some further animad-

versions on this branch of D'Alembert's productions,* and deeming it beside our purpose to engage in the intricacies of figured demonstrations, we may pass to the philosopher's subsequent culture of the lighter fields of literature. In this department of intellectual exercise, though by no means, in equal degree, bearing the unerring stamp of genius that distinguished his analytical treatises, D'Alembert's publications were both varied in subject and popularly successful; for the first collective edition in 1805, extended to no less than eighteen octavo volumes, even with some omissions. His Preliminary Discourse to the "Encyclopédie," a vast enterprise, undertaken in conjunction with Diderot, may be viewed as his earliest literary essay; for though more directly philosophic in design, a purity of diction, a refinement of taste, and the coherence of its well-adjusted parts have gained for it no inferior place in literary composition. Whatever was then embraced in the range of human knowledge, under Bacon's tripartite division of our faculties, "Reason, Imagination, and Memory," representing Philosophy, Poetry, and History, is lucidly, but in necessary submission to the limitation of space, and generalization of view, rapidly surveyed; and, notwithstanding Lord Brougham's adverse judgment, it was not unfitly termed, in correspondence with the great work which it introduced, "Un vestibule digne de l'édifice." D'Alembert's articles in the compilation are subscribed with

* Thus his lordship at p. 414 writes, "Taylor's Methodus Incrementum, had solved the problem of the vibrating cord's movement." We presume that by this incorrect phrase, Brooke Taylor's Methodus Incrementorum Directa et Inversa, printed in 1715, is meant, for in it will be seen this solution at page 86. The theorem bearing Taylor's name, and as such familiar to analysts, is there unfolded; but a long and warm contest between him and John Bernoulli, is another disproof of the pacific fame of mathematicians. And what are we to think of the contentious scene in the French Institute on the 19th of last October, relative to the new planet, now probably to be called Neptune, which still may be found to be the same discovered by M. Watman in 1831, and reported in the "Compte Rendu," of the Institute the 25th of March, 1836. Mr. Adams's claim too, appears not to rest on slight grounds; though the legal axiom, "de non apparentibus, sicut de non existentibus eadem est ratio," is not inapplicable to the controversy, and indeed, has had its full effect in assigning the priority of discovery to M. Leverrier, as we have already stated.

the letter O, and are principally mathematical, being his own expressed and appropriate choice. The most noticeable exception is that of Geneva, in the seventh volume, recommending the establishment of a theatre, as Calvin's rigid prohibition was no longer in harmony with the existing local relaxation of the reformer's doctrine and discipline, now lapsed with all educated classes, including the clergy, into religious indifference or downright deism, to which, indeed, our philosopher well foresaw that consistent reasoning must eventually lead all Protestant divines. "D'Alembert avait bien prévu que la logique conduirait, tôt ou tard, les théologiens protestans au déisme franc et sans alliage," is the prediction ascribed to him in one of the sketches of his life, and now strictly verified in the very birth-places of both great divisions of their creed—Northern Germany and Switzerland, comprehending Geneva. For this fact we have the evidence of local writers and travellers of highest authority. The former are too numerous and well known to render any reference necessary; but of the latter, whose testimony is uniform, it will be sufficient to cite a zealous Anglican clergyman in relation to the followers of Luther, the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Percival, who, in his recent "Tour," descriptive of the actual state of religion in the North of Germany, assures us, "that not one in five hundred of the Lutheran ministers believes a single item of the mysteries of Christianity." A Calvinist doctor of divinity, the Rev. G. W. Lindsey Alexander, just returned from a visit to Switzerland, made with the express design of investigating the religious condition of the confederation, affirms, on the other hand, "that Calvin's memory in the Protestant cantons has passed into utter oblivion or hatred. In the pulpit, with few exceptions, the doctrines of Calvin are referred to only to be repudiated or scorned." In Geneva itself, we have on a former occasion mentioned Mr. S. Laing's emphatic assurance of the total subversion of the stern reformer's implanted creed and constituted regulations; but the repetition cannot be superfluous. At page 325 of his "Notes of a Traveller," he writes: "Geneva, the fountain-head from which the pure waters of Scottish Zion flow, has not the emblem of religion." This transition from severe and systematic ordinance to complete indifference or worse, the necessary consequence of the assumed Reformation's unfixedness of principle, thus flagrantly manifested in its

sources, is surely no uninteresting or unwarning object of contemplation; nor is it of presumptuous foreboding, that it will eventually pervade the Protestant body at large, unless, in happier result, it should produce a reaction and general return to the bosom of genuine Catholicity, such as is now so signally exemplified in the numerous conversions from Anglicanism. This section, however, of reform appears to have been less fluctuating in its subsequent action than its continental kindred; for we are assured by one of its late most distinguished members, Dr. Thomas Arnold, (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 371.) that "the Church bears, and has ever borne, the marks of her birth—the child of regal and ministerial selfishness and unprincipled tyranny, she has never dared to speak boldly to the great.....to whom it is folly and worse than folly to think that preaching what are called orthodox doctrines, is really preaching to them the gospel." Yet her liturgy has undergone a variety of successive changes. But in 1758, an answer to D'Alembert from the impassioned pen of Rousseau, demonstrative of the corrupting tendency of the French stage with illustrative extracts from its proudest ornament, Molière, and deprecating its introduction into his native city, although his own dramatic productions were not few in number, gave unwonted animation to the controversy, in which, if defeated in argument, he was far superior in impressive eloquence, while the backsliding of the Genevan clergy, instead of being gainsaid, was energetically affirmed by Rousseau in his subsequent "*Lettres de la Montagne*," with the aggravating impeachments of hypocrisy and intolerance, as he experienced in his own person.

D'Alembert, in 1754, was admitted a member of the French Academy, then the foremost in the classification of these institutions; and ultimately became its dictator, with the aid of Voltaire, who, from his château of Ferney, like Tiberius from the isle of Capræa, issued his mandates of election in union of purpose with D'Alembert, so as to convert it into a co-operative instrument of their anti-christian conspiracy. In 1777, when the Abbé Millot was proposed as a successor to the deceased Gresset, author of "*Vert-Vert*," he would have been humiliatingly rejected, had not his respondent, D'Alembert, interposed, and pledged himself that the candidate, "*n'avait de prêtre que l'habit*." Of the infidel conspiracy then in active move-

ment under the ardent and undisguised propagation of Diderot, Helvétius, and Holbach, with Voltaire, the "Bertand of these Ratons," to use his own phrase, borrowed from La Fontaine's apologue (livre ix.), at their head, D'Alembert, though too cautious to assume the open direction, was certainly the most subtle promoter. He undermined what his bolder accomplices daringly assaulted; and truth cannot be more glaringly perverted than in maintaining that nothing on his part had betrayed his sentiments until disclosed by the posthumous publication of his correspondence with Voltaire and Frederick of Prussia. In his writings the prudence or timidity of his nature prevented the overt defiance of law or decorum; but his "Essai sur les Gens de Lettres," his "Mélanges de Littérature et de Physique," and his "Eloges des Académiciens,"—all more or less exhibit the spirit, while they evade the expressed evidence, of hostility to revelation. It is more constructively than explicitly that Gibbon's opinions transpire, as, by similarly insidious deductions from artfully coloured statements, D'Alembert's feelings are unerringly, however covertly insinuated, discoverable; nor did he ever conceal them in private intercourse. The fact was universally known by his associations, his predilections, and unceasing efforts of proselytism, as Voltaire's agent of mischief; for he proudly displayed their correspondence. But, because he kept within prudently measured bounds in his publications, he escaped the danger of prosecution, which the flagrant blasphemy of his colleague Diderot necessarily provoked, with repeated inflictive consequences. Though not generally known, it was in this avowed atheist's little poem, "*Les Eleuthéromanes*," or "*Fanatics of Liberty*," forming part of the nineteenth volume of his works, printed at Paris in 1818—1819, that we find the object of the Triumvirate, Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Diderot, "the destruction of the altar and the throne," condensed with fearful energy in words attributed to John Meslier, Curé of Estrepigny in Champagne.

"Et ses mains ourdiraient les entrailles du prêtre,
A défaut d'un cordon pour étrangler les rois."

In Marmontel's "*Mémoires*," livre iii., the graphic dialogue between him and Champfort in 1790, on the early proceedings of the revolutionists, exhibits, in unerring view, the prospective designs of these harbingers of evil.

"Pour tracer un nouveau plan on a toute raison de faire place nette," said Chamfort. "Place nette!" exclaimed Marmontel. "Oui," replied his interlocutor, "et le trône et l'autel tomberont ensemble: ce sont deux arc-boutants appuyés l'un par l'autre; et que l'un des deux soit brisé, l'autre va flechir." The throne and altar are two buttresses of mutual support: if the one falls, the other must give way. And so, truly, did the succeeding events prove. But none of the celebrated trio survived to witness the triumph, and contemplate, or possibly mourn over, the consummation of their projects, so appallingly manifested in the dreadful excesses of 1793 and 1794. Deeply did Marmontel regret the mischief he had contributed to cause; so, too, did La Harpe, Raynal, Morellet, and others, and so, we believe, would D'Alembert, had he lived, like them and Gibbon, to view their work of ruin.

In despite of such glaring and irrefragable evidence of D'Alembert's notorious infidelity, at page 456, Lord Brougham bursts into an indignant invective against Madame de la Ferté-Imbaut, who forbad his visits to her mother, Madame de Geoffrin, when alarmingly ill in 1766. "The ground taken," says his lordship, "by this furious bigot, was the known suspicion of the philosopher's opinions, though every one is aware that he never obtruded them on society." Now, every one was aware of the contrary; and it was from his open declaration of them at her mother's house, of which he was a constant frequenter, that this conscientious lady felt herself bound to prevent their effect in that apparently awful moment, for which Madame de Geoffrin thanked her on recovering from the threatened danger. "Ma fille," said she, "est comme Godefroi de Bouillon: elle a voulu défendre mon tombeau contre les infidèles." Such, consequently, was the known character of D'Alembert, to whom she decidedly interdicted the entrance of her house during her remaining life, which ended in the month of October of the ensuing year. No one was more active or vigilant in attendance on the dying hours of celebrated persons, in order to obstruct a death-bed repentance, than D'Alembert, or, as he termed it, a betrayal of weakness. In No. XXXVI., page 536, of this Review, his assiduous watch of Montesquieu, with that view, will be found related; and his equally unremitting guard of Voltaire, lest this restless spirit of evil, the hierophant of unbelief, should flinch and retract. In 1772, when

he read some of his Eloges before the French Academy, great was the surprise of his auditors to hear the severest censure of the impieties of Lucretius, "de la bouche même de ce philosophe, le chef reconnu de la secte, ces paroles, que le doyen de la Sorbonne ne désavouerait pas." So we are assured by the Baron de Grimm, a brother infidel, in his and Diderot's Literary Correspondence, (tome ii. p. 150. Lond. 1813.)* He exclaims, "Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?" naturally enough on the occasion.

To pass in detailed review D'Alembert's literary productions, would far exceed our legitimate bounds; nor should we have often to controvert his lordship's estimation of them. The "*Mémoire sur la Destruction des Jésuites*," forms, indeed, an exception, in representing the work as, though of no distinguished merit in composition, yet "remarkable for its calmness and impartiality;" so we read at page 461 of his lordship's volume, while, in fact, this assumed equitable tone covers many a sly and malignant insinuation. The correspondence with Voltaire shows that such had ever been the studied policy of his writings, which Grimm, an infidel associate, thus confirms: "Dans l'expression même des vérités les plus hardies, on était forcé d'admirer l'art qu'il possédait au suprême degré, l'art de conserver toujours beaucoup d'égards et de mesure."

* A few pages previously, Grimm adverts to the line expressive of Franklin's title to immortality, scientific and patriotic, the Prometheus at once and Junius Brutus of modern times. "Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis," which he observes, is a happy imitation of a verse in the Anti-Lucretius. "Eripuitque Iovi fulmen, Phœboque sagittas;" but he did not know that the latter's original is in the poem of Marcus Manilius, (*Astronomicœn*, libri v.) "Eripuitque Iovi fulmen, viresque Tonanti," (lib. i. v. 104.) Nor does he cite the line of Cardinal Polignac's Anti-Lucretius, which is the 37th of the first book. It was Turgot, the minister of Finances under Louis XVI., who thus applied the verse to the celebration of the American philosopher's combined glories, as we have more at large detailed elsewhere, and were, we believe, the first thus to trace it to the fountain-head.

~ Lord Brougham also quotes Grimm, relative to D'Alembert's and Clairaut's comparative scientific merits, but wholly over-passes that acute observer's frequent remarks on his personal character, and irreligious fame and efforts, so contradictory of his lordship's representations.

(tome ii. p. 117.) The same writer, in his contemporaneous correspondence, enables us to form a fair judgment of the philosopher's alleged impartiality in regard to the Jesuits, from the fact of his having addressed the Empress Catherine a bold remonstrance against her harbouring the persecuted remnant of the Order, as she and the great Frederick, though bereft themselves of all religious principle, yet, too wise not to appreciate its salutary influence on the human mind, had hastened to do in their dominions. But his malevolent urgency was unproductive of effect, or even of notice, a humiliation which, adds Grimm, "*alta mente repostum*"—lay deep in his memory. The contrasted policy of these renowned sovereigns with that of the Arcadii and Honorii, as Gibbon designated the enthroned mass of idiocy who then slumbered in the South, signally distinguished the character of the Jesuits as viewed by deluded imbecility, or contemplated by discerning intellect; and time, in its consequences, has not failed to manifest, not the danger of the Order's existence, but of its suppression. Its history is still reserved for the hand of a master, who, in a general eulogy, will not overlook some incidental aberrances. Pascal's "*Provincial Letters*" inflicted the deepest and most enduring wound aimed at the body's moral fame. Their poignant wit, bold charges, and beauty of diction, still, after an interval of nearly two centuries, fresh and unantiquated, instantaneously gained these celebrated effusions the popular favour, while Father Daniel's *Vindication*, ("*Réponse aux Lettres Provinciales, &c.*") able and argumentative though it was, fell unheeded and almost unread; because, as remarked even by Voltaire, (*Siècle de Louis xiv. ch. 33*, and in his letter to Father La Tour,) "*il ne s'agissait, pas d'avoir raison: il s'agissait de divertir le public,*" and ready credence, as the Templars had similarly experienced, is too generally yielded to any impeachment of powerful associations, more especially when conveyed in an attractive form. For—

"Truth and justice matter not a particle,
Provided that one writes an amusing article."

The best reputation of Pascal, according to Boileau, was the life and labours of Bourdaloue; but can any name command our veneration beyond that of Henri de Belzunce, bishop of Marseilles during the plague which desolated that city in 1720, and whom Pope has so warmly eulogized?

At this day too, with numerous other men of eminent science, we may cite Father Sacchi, who, it appears from the Roman Archeological records, has reduced to definite rules the Hieroglyphic System, so far advanced, but still left imperfect by Champollion, whose first great exhibition of the fruits of his Egyptian researches, we attended by particular invitation in April 1830. At this moment, likewise, the invading army of Mexico under General Taylor, is accompanied by Fathers Elroy and Rey, as chaplains to the Catholic soldiers. But an act of necessary justice remains due to the order, in refutation of the long prevalent calumny of their accumulated and hoarded riches; for we have the incontrovertible authority of Scipio Ricci, their virulent enemy, that their last General, his cousin Lorenzo Ricci, died in 1776, three years after their dissolution by Clement XIV, in absolute destitution. So the biography of Scipio Ricci by De Potter, who was equally hostile to the Jesuits, amply testifies, in an interesting narrative of Lorenzo's death. This biography appeared in 1827. As for the missionary labours of the society, let the preface of the Rev. Mr. Kip, an American Protestant, to his extracts from the "*Lettres Edifiantes et Pieuses*," be read, and the noble homage there rendered, be added to those elsewhere referred to. The Rev. gentleman's work was published at Boston (U. S.) in 1845.

The College where D'Alembert was educated, that of Mazarin, which he had specially in view when he furnished the article of *Collège* to the third volume of the *Encyclopédie*, was conducted by Jansenists, who fondly anticipated, from his precocious mathematical attainments, a second Pascal in this disciple; and, although his subsequent desertion of the Christian faith made no reserve of Jansenism, yet the early imbibed prejudice still presented the celebrated Order to his recollection in no propitious light, while, again, the most formidable adversary to his infidel system. But here an additional evidence occurs of his lordship's unacquaintance with the personal history of learned men, for, in alluding to the collegiate professors' cherished expectations of raising up an emulous Pascal in D'Alembert, he says at page 400, "but they had to deal with a less docile subject than the Port Royal had formerly found in young Blaise." Now, respecting such a personage as Pascal, of transcendent genius and universal renown, Lord Brougham appears only to know of his pri-

vate life that his name was Blaise: for he never had, we are assured by his sister, Madame Perier, and his biographers, any other master than his father, and never had entered Port Royal as an inmate until his thirtieth year, when he had published all the mathematical works of which he was author. He had even appeared as a fashionable man of the world, until withdrawn from it by the persuasion of another sister, a religious of the famed community in its female department. A lately discovered manuscript of his, "An abridged Life of Christ," has just been published by M. Faugère, editor of the last and best edition of Pascal's works.

D'Alembert's seemingly impartial review of the Jesuit question denies the production by the Order of a philosopher, while from its bosom have arisen numerous astronomers and mathematicians of distinguished merit. The names of many may be seen in this Review, No. XXXIX. p. 77; and to them we can add one of the earliest and most eminent mathematicians of the sixteenth century, Christopher Clavius, an efficient co-operator in the reformation of the calendar under Gregory XIII., in 1581, of which the best report is found in his "*Calendarii Gregoriani Explicatio*," a folio volume printed at Rome in 1603. In that age, too, of the Jesuit's system of education, Bacon declared in his work, "*De Augmentis Scientiarum*," lib. vi. cap. 4, and repeats it in the first book of his "*Advancement of Learning*," that nothing hitherto tried in practice surpassed it." To withhold from the Society an avowal of the benefits conferred by its missions in extending our knowledge of man and his habitation over the globe's surface, independently of their self-devotion and success in the performance of their professed duties, would have been a direct collision with the world's proclaimed homage, which D'Alembert was too discreet and calculating to attempt. He accordingly concurs in the testimony borne of the fact on every side; for the superior merits of the Jesuit missionaries are alike acknowledged by Protestant and Catholic writers. Ample proofs are derivable from all travellers who have personally compared, or authors who have estimated, the rival efforts of the churches; and to the latter we may adjoin the instance given by Lord Mahon in the lately published fourth volume of his *History*, page 292, of the contrasted conduct of the Order and their Protestant adversaries towards the Cherokee Indians in the last cen-

tury. How could it, we may ask, be expected that the husband and father, encumbered with all the trammels of married life,—or, as expressed by Tasso,—

“————— invilito,
Negli affetti di padre, e di marito &c.”

should equal in activity of zeal or movement a missionary, who, in the propagation of his creed, had his view confined to that sole duty, unimpeded in its discharge by any extraneous thought or worldly object? For proof, let the truly Catholic rule of Paraguay be contemplated, not only in the special work of Charlevoix, but in Muratori's “*Christianismo Felice*,” (Milano, 1743, 4to.) enriched by the interesting documents of Gaetano Cattini, long resident in that region. It will be seen how the Jesuit pastor gathered his flock, disciplined these unsophisticated sons of nature in the habits of social community, and, thus advanced in the first steps of civilization, poured on them the divine light and moral inculcations of the Gospel.* *His* was not the conquest of blood, or achievement of the sword, nor, as humanity has too often to reproach the leaders of war, did

* A most interesting relation of the Catholic missions in the South Sea Islands at this moment, will be found in Nos. 84 and 98, of the “*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*.” The native clergy of Brazil receive little praise indeed from a recent traveller, Mr. George Gardiner, but of the Jesuits he thus writes: “It is handed down from father to son, that their destruction was a severe loss to the well-being of the country—their memory long remains; and I have always heard them spoken of with respect and regret. More than one nation of Indians in Brazil, which in the time of the Jesuits, had renounced their savage life and become Christians, have since their suppression, returned to the condition from which at so much risk and with so much labour, they had been redeemed.” (*Travels in the Interior of Brazil*, during the years 1836-1841. London: 1846.—8vo.) The intense persecution of our missionaries by the Wesleyans in the South Sea Islands, as represented by the French Naval officers, will be found in the “*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*.” So constant was the application of the epithet of Anti-christ to the Catholic minister, that on the arrival of the admirable Bishop Pompallier at New Zealand, where his conduct was so truly apostolic, he was saluted and long continued to be called by no other name; but he soon conciliated the misguided natives, of which the English Commodore Hone experienced the benefit.

he exterminate and reduce to a barren waste the people he came to bless, or the soil he sought to impregnate, with the seed of an all-saving and eternal truth.

“————— Sterileis nec legit arenas,
Ut caneret paucis, mergatque hoc pulvere verum.”

Lucan. lib. ix.

Lord Brougham represents generally at their just value D'Alembert's "Eloges" of the members of the French Academy, deceased within the interval of 1700 to 1772, comprising eighty-three articles. His lordship regrets the time mis-spent on their composition, remarkable, as they almost always are, for the omission of whatever truths tell to the disadvantage of their subjects. He cites a few of interest or curiosity; but perhaps, in the latter class, none will be found to exceed that of the Bishop of Noyon, M. de Clermont-Tonnèrre. This prelate's pride of birth was, indeed, carried to the most extravagant excess, so that even the Duke de St. Simon, himself enslaved to aristocratic pretensions, derided its absurdity (*Mémoires*, tome i. page 119); and it is not less the object of Madame de Sévigné's ridicule, (*Lettres*, No. 73 and 1025.) It wrested even a smile from the studied dignity, to which a laugh was alien, of Louis XIV.; and furnished fair grounds for the epigraph, or rather epigram, quoted by D'Alembert, (tome ii. p. 37, edition of 1787.)

“Ci gît et repose humblement,
De quoi tout le monde s'étonne,
Dans un si petit monument,
Monsieur de Tonnèrre en personne.
On dit, qu'entrant en Paradis,
Il fut reçu vaille que vaille,
Et qu'il en sortit par mépris,
N'y trouvant que de la canaille.”

Our noble writer's remarks on D'Alembert's partial translations of Tacitus are also fair; but his estimate of the historian, whom he greatly undervalues, is by no means so. The opinions of Montesquieu and Gibbon, confirmed by the almost unanimous concurrence of European judgment, may seem well entitled to outbalance his lordship's depreciation. They unequivocally place him at the head of Roman historians. So did many competent persons of preceding times, whom we find cited by Bayle, such as

Cosmo de Medicis, who, says Muretus (Oper. tom. ii. p. 342, Lipsiæ, 1672, 8vo.), "Taciti libros in deliciis habuit," and Pope Paul III., "Tacitum sæpe relegendo contriverat." Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, livre xxx. chap. 1.) observes that, "Tacite abrégéait tout parcequ'il voyait tout;" and Racine, in the preface to his tragedy of Britannicus, calls him "le plus grand peintre de l'antiquité," as Bossuet does, "le plus grave des historiens." Rousseau, who, though an indifferent classical scholar, succeeded better than D'Alembert, in his essays of version subjoins, "Tout homme en état de suivre Tacite, est bientôt tenté d'aller seul;" and Gibbon uniformly distinguishes him as exceptionally, "the great—the philosophic historian." Difficult, no doubt, must be the task of transfusing the spirit and condensation of such a writer, but certainly not insuperable, as Montesquieu, in the thirtieth book and third chapter of his great work, and, still more decisively, Gibbon, in the ninth chapter of the "Decline and Fall," have demonstrated. Both, too, had full leisure before their decease, had they been so disposed, to undertake it. D'Avanzati's Italian version, though now somewhat obsolete in style, is still in high repute; and so is Valeriani's modern one. Dureau de Lamalle's and Burnouf's are also much esteemed in France, as are Waltmann's, and an anonymous one printed at Leipsic in 1818, by the Germans; but our Gordon's and Murphy's attempts are utter failures; nor has England produced a citable edition of the original text, while Ireland boasts of the accurate re-impression of that of Ryckius, remarkable for the elegant dedication to Lord Carteret by Mrs. Grierson, who printed and revised it in 1730. Nor is the late Dr. Stock's unpretending edition, modelled after Brotier's in 1788, without its own merit; as, for instance, in the substitution in the Annals (lib. iii. cap. 68.) of *Atia* parente geniti (*Atia* Balba being the grandmother of Augustus) for *alia*,—a reading wholly devoid of sense, and acknowledged as hopeless of amendment by previous commentators. "Certe hæc implexa," says Lipsius; but Stock resolved the difficulty. The energetic style of *Junius* is similarly undervalued by Lord Brougham.

D'Alembert's intercourse with Mademoiselle L'Espinasse was of a singular character. They were both of that class, "who all guiltless meet reproach,"—illegitimate children. The lady was the produce of adul-

tery committed by Madame d'Albon, wife of Claude d'Albon, the descendant of Jacques d'Albon, Marechal de St. André, who conjointly with Francis Duke of Guise, and the Constable Anne de Montmorency, formed under Henry II. of France and his sons, the Catholic triumvirate in counteraction of the Huguenot Confederacy headed by Coligny.* No one, remarks Lord Brougham at page 448, whispered a syllable of suspicion respecting this connection of D'Alembert and Mademoiselle L'Espinasse, which all were fully convinced could only be of the most innocent kind, though he continued to reside in the same apartment during the remaining twelve years of her singular life." Yet, if it transgressed not the limits of Platonic attachment, the forbearance assuredly was not a sacrifice to religious principle or moral feeling, held by both in contemptuous disregard, but imposed, it was well understood, by nature on the philosopher, and amply compensated to his impassioned companion by his subserviency to her little-restrained desires towards others. The word *apartment*, however, it is right to observe, does not, in its French acceptance, mean the same room, but a range or suite of rooms, and consequently leads not to the inference, thus ascribed to it by his lordship, of illicit association.—But here, in this self-styled philosophical age, we behold its Parisian coryphæus represented to us by all his contemporaries as the debased and active pander of the passions of, to himself, a platonic paramour! *Her* disappointed love of Mora, the son of a Spanish Grandee, caused, it was said, her death in May 1776, and if so, strangely or rather equitably enough, this young man, in the same month, sunk under a similar passion; for, in Mr. Swinburne's "Courts of Europe," and letter of 8th June 1776, we read, "There is much talk in Madrid of the amours of Count Mora with the Duchess of Huesca,

* In 1550, St. André was commissioned by Henry II. of France, to invest our Edward VI., "le petit roy Edouard," as Brantome on the occasion names him, with the order of St. Michael, then the highest in France, that of the St. Esprit not having been instituted till 1579; when St. André, whom Brantome accompanied, was decorated with our order of the Garter, being one of the very few under sovereign rank, so complimented down to the present day. It is now the oldest order in Europe, even anterior to that of the Golden Fleece next in seniority.

who had married his father, and broke his son's heart."

His lordship at page 483, as in the case of Voltaire, (See Dublin Review, No. 36, page 520) would justify D'Alembert's hostility to his country's religion, as the consequence of indignation at the deaths of Calas and Labarre, victims of catholic fanaticism. To which, in the first instance, we are bound to answer, that D'Alembert, then approaching his fiftieth year, had long previously abjured the christian belief, and pointed against it the combined infidel power of the period, in the *Encyclopedie*; and if, as more legitimately applicable, this warfare had for its source the existing legislation in reference to religion, we are obliged to remind an Ex-Chancellor, that at *the very time* he attributes these acts to the cruelty of French jurisprudence, our own code held, "that where a person was reconciled to the church of Rome, or procured others to be reconciled, the offence amounted to high treason," that is, a convert or converter was liable to be eviscerated or embowelled, with all the atrocious adjuncts of an execution under that, the highest of legal crimes. (Blackstone, Book IV. ch. 4.) Nor was the denounced persecution, though just then, from the meliorated spirit of the age, mitigated in practice, wholly abated in exercise; for the records of the period exhibit numerous proofs of prosecutions against priests, for the celebration of mass, or any other ostensible act of catholic worship, which the law, in this protestant land arrogantly assuming to itself the peculiar merit of religious tolerance, visited, in penal succession, with heavy fines, perpetual imprisonment, and eventual death. It was for the introduction of a bill into parliament suppressive of this horrible inconsistency not always dormant on the statute book or inert, with the boasted principle of liberty of conscience, a liberty pretty much akin to the episcopal Congé d'Elire, delusive at once and derisive, that the city of London, so lately as 1780, rose with infuriated threats and deeds against not only the catholics, but all who supported the projected enactment, which still left our legislation stained with hundreds of inflictive laws, not even to this day wholly repealed. But see our late friend Dr. Scully's volume on the subject, printed in 1812, and let these usurped pretensions of protestantism be fairly considered. The book,

we happen to know, was specially forwarded by the author to Henry Brougham, who, indeed, is ill represented by his lordship—"Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!" may we truly say. Again, we must interpose the important fact, that it was not for a religious misdeed that Calas suffered: it was for the murder of his son that he was convicted; while fanaticism has been alleged, on one side, to have instigated the father to put to death his apostate son, and, on the other, to have urged the tribunal of Toulouse to condemn Calas without adequate evidence. Yet, we learn from his lordship that very lately the documents of the trial, on cool inspection, satisfied some protestant gentlemen that the father's guilt appeared legally proved; and, at the subsequent reversal of the sentence, 4th of June 1764, a considerable minority were opposed to so direct a decision, as may be seen in the "*Continuation des Causes Célèbres*, tome IV." In regard to La Barre, Lord Brougham wholly misrepresents the circumstances. It was not for "making faces at a procession of priests that he was punished so horribly," but for cutting to pieces with his sabre in August 1765 a public crucifix—for blasphemies against God, the Eucharist, the Virgin, and the Saints—with singing through the streets the most impious songs, and paying, with defiant ostentation, to the most profane and impure books, the reverence due only to the Sacred Volume—outrages assuredly on religion and decency, but for which, we repeat, a year or two's confinement, or at least a less severe penalty than death, would have been a sufficient chastisement.—Above one hundred and twenty witnesses attested these and other profanations, thus lightly shadowed by Lord Brougham; but the sagacious Frederick perverted not the facts, like our Ex-Chancellor, who easily reconciles his conscience to any arraignment of the catholic faith.—Frederick, infidel though he declaredly was, thus, as mentioned on a former occasion, addressed Voltaire, the 7th of August, 1766—"Les juges n'ont pu prononcer autrement qu'ils ont fait. La tolérance ne doit pas s'étendre à autoriser l'effronterie et la licence de jeunes étourdis, qui insultent audacieusement à ce que le peuple révère." It is little worthy of his lordship to descend to such engines of aggression against any dissidents from his religious profession, we will not say, belief. His favourite D'Alembert, we can assure him on the irrefragable authority of Morellet, an encyclopedian colleague,

an avowed admirer, and, though in priestly orders, yet like Raynal, a recreant to his creed, was far from exercising towards others the tolerance he invoked for his sect. Irritated by the literary criticisms of Fréron, of Palissot, and others, he urged his claim of revenge against them in a criminatory letter to Malesherbes, the superintending magistrate of the press, whose reply, considering D'Alembert's powerful influence, and the reigning spirit of the day, reflected on him the highest credit. It was an admirable exposition of the liberty of the press, which, as well as the freedom of thought, with the characteristic in-consequence of his party, this philosophic chief would limit in enjoyment to himself or followers, and convert into an instrument of vengeance against all others. But the excellent functionary, the noble defender of Louis, and the consequent victim, of the act, with his daughter, son-in-law, grand-daughter, her husband again (Châteaubriand's elder brother,) a holocaust immolation embracing three generations! was not a person to become the complacent tool of D'Alembert's vindictive solicitations, when *our calm mathematician's* wrath was exhaled in the bitterest intemperance of vulgar language, as we learn from Morellet's "*Mémoires*, tome i, page 46,"—Malesherbes' letter bears date the 16th of February 1758, not long subsequent to D'Alembert's article on Geneva, which Fréron impeached of irreligion, although his lordship would have us believe, that he was free from all suspicion of the fact until his death, a quarter of a century afterwards. But Fréron's severity of literary animadversion was still more sensitively felt, as it equally was by Voltaire, who, in like manner, invoked the arm of government, through his correspondents, against the critic, as, in addition to the indicated instances in a former article, we may refer for proof to his letters of the 16th of January, 6th of February, and 11th of April, 1761.—Malesherbes thus answered the complaint of D'Alembert—"Je connais trop la sensibilité des auteurs sur ce qui interesse leur amour propre, pour me flatter que ni vous ni aucun homme de lettres maltraité dans les brochures, adopte mes principes sur la liberté de la presse, qui m'a toujours paru avoir plus d'avantages que d'inconvéniens, mais après y avoir longtemps réfléchi, j'ai trouvé que ce sont les seuls que je puisse suivre avec justice, sans m'exposer moi-même à tomber dans la partialité." But no reason or soothing could appease our philosopher,

who panted more for revenge than even his co-accused Diderot. "Quand j'exposais," says Morellet, "à mon ami D'Alembert les principes de M. de Malesherbes, je ne pouvais les lui faire entendre; et le philosophe tempêtait et jurait selon sa mauvaise habitude." And yet, according to the same author, these apostles of incredulity maintained, "qu'on ne pouvait être tolérant sans abandonner les principes religieux!" The destined purpose of the "Encyclopédie," it is not doubted, was to diffuse Deism, or worse, and with that view, as well as for its professed scientific and literary object, it certainly could not have had for conductors abler or fitter men than D'Alembert and Diderot, equally famed for their talents, and confederacy with Voltaire in *crushing* christianity. The former was, however, the more excitable; and the strictures of his critics on his translations of Tacitus, though not harsher than Lord Brougham's, deeply affected him, more especially in the decided preference pronounced for Rousseau's version of the pathetic recital, in the second book of the Annals, of the death of Germanicus, to his own. Nor did he less sensitively feel the superiority in talent and effect of Rousseau's letter on the Encyclopedian article of Geneva, to his publications on the subject, so marked, indeed, that the critics of the day said they would rather err with the Genevan, than be in the right with the Parisian philosopher, just as the enthusiasts of Plato, and, more particularly, Marsilio Ficino, his Latin translator, preferred the errings of that philosopher to the truths of others.

Such was the real character of the philosophic sect, chiefly derived from some of themselves, and given in the original words, to stamp the facts as genuine. Yet justice requires, and cheerfully do we render it, that we should record the high esteem and personal regard entertained for D'Alembert, notwithstanding some roughness of temper, and an irritability carried, as we have seen, occasionally to rather a vindictive extent. His generally kind, disinterested, and beneficent disposition endeared him to most of those who approached him, to many even who were far from participating in his unhappy irreligious principles. His fear of pain and death was very great, we learn from his friend, Le Baron de Grimm,—"*Ils sont bien heureux ceux qui ont du courage; moi je n'en ai pas,*" was his candid avowal; and, that in his last mo-

ments, too, various symptoms of returning faith were discernible—for his pathetically uttered apprehension, for so his words may well be construed, of a future state, and for Diderot's disciple, Naigeon's watchful guard lest he should relapse into christian submission, we have the indisputable authority of M. de Fontanes, Grand Master of the University—the “*Studiorum alma parens*,” as complacently distinguished—an endearing title, which if ever deserved, now truly, we may passingly observe, is little applicable to an institution tyrannous in system, and, from the well-known principles of the professors, scarcely to be supposed, blameless in doctrine, rigidly intolerant of all instruction not immediately or permissively emanating from its own bosom, while not always the seat of desirable tuition. But Fontanes, whose memory we cherish as the friend of our youth, though he uniformly expressed a strong affection for D'Alembert, paid due homage, in belief and practice, to Christian Revelation, as when he emphatically declared to Pius VII. at Fontainebleau—“*Toutes les pensées irréligieuses sont des pensées dangereuses: tout attentat contre le Christianisme est un attentat contre l'état*,” (*Vie de Pie VII. par le Chevalier Artaud*, tome i, pages 496—507.) And, on his last illness in March 1821, when his wife ordered the instant attendance of the physician—no, said he,—first send for the priest—“*Commencez par envoyer chercher le curé*,” in whose embrace he penitently died. He was one of the most eloquent men in France; and the oration delivered by him, at Bonaparte's invitation, the 18th of February, 1800, on the death of Washington, may not shrink from emulative comparison with any existing similar effort. The subject, indeed, was an inspiring one, and he rose with it, proving the observation of Tacitus: “*Crescit cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii; nec quisquam claram et illustrem orationem efficere potest, nisi qui causam parem invenit*.” (*Dialog. de Orator. cap. 37*.) This incidental advertence to a favoured, yet unperverted friend of D'Alembert, will not, we trust, appear misplaced.—In one of his poems, he thus characterizes the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation—“*Ce dictame immortel qui fleurit dans les cieux*.”

Fontenelle, like D'Alembert, had been an associate of the three old academies, and secretary also to one; distinctions of which he expressed himself prouder than of the

most pompous titles. "De tous les titres du monde, je n'en ai jamais eu que d'une espèce, des titres d'Académiciens, et ils n'ont été profanés par aucun autre plus mondain et plus fastueux," was the forcible declaration of the celebrated centenarian, adopted in full appliance to himself, and complacently repeated by D'Alembert. Bailly and Condorcet received a similar accession of honours, but both fell victims to their revolutionary enthusiasm. In 1789, the three academies numbered collectively one hundred and eighty seven members, of whom not more than twelve embraced the new order of things; a very small proportion truly, under the great ordeal of the period. In 1793, they were all suppressed, but reconstructed the 25th October 1795, with the subsisting designation of the "National Institute of France," including the "Fine Arts," and "Moral and Political Science;" consequently, forming five distinct but co-ordinate branches. Again, on the 25th of January 1805, this encyclical embodiment of human acquirements was subjected, by an imperial decree, to a new organization, when among the foreign associates of the scientific class, we find the appropriate names of Sir William Herschel, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Maskeleyne, with, strange to add, that of Charles James Fox, whose fitting location was surely in the literary department. The fifth section, or that of Moral and Political Science, was little accordant with Napoleon's policy; for he viewed it as the school of vague abstractions, the nursery of those theorizing philosophers, whom, by an epithet of his special application, he denominated "des idéologues," and whom he knew in general, to be adverse to Christianity. It was, therefore, abolished, but has since resumed its place; and it is in it that Lord Brougham is classed, and thence derives the title which so prominently figures on the title pages of his publications. It is to the reputed incredulity of this branch, that M. Thiers, in the sixth volume of his recent history, ascribes its suppression by the Emperor; but the imputation, we may hope, no longer applies to it. As the result of some curious calculations made by M. Benoiston de Châteauneuf, who likewise belongs to this section of the Institute, on the duration of learned life, deduced from the ascertained ages of nine hundred associates of the old academies, it appears that the medium length of each individual life was sixty-seven years ten months, and of academic life,

twenty-six years six months, while their age when elected, was between thirty-nine and forty on an average. Not one of the old Academicians now survives; the two last were Pastoret, author of the inscription on the pediment of the Pantheon—"Aux Grands Hommes, la Patrie reconnaissante,"—and Jacques Dominique Cassini, who very lately died, and closed the list of the successive astronomers of that name from 1669, when his ancestor, Giovanni Domenico Cassini, removed from Bologna to Paris, up to the past year. The mean of military life in Great Britain, is found to be within a fraction of sixty years, not much under the Academic average, all circumstances considered.

D'Alembert's death occurred on the 29th of October 1783, when he was buried in the cemetery of St. Germain L'Auxerrois, *Extra Muros*, the archbishop having interdicted the interment, as then usual in the church, in consequence of the *publicité perseverante de ses opinions*, another authoritative contradiction of Lord Brougham's asserted reserve in his avowal of these opinions. Nothing was more absurd, as was remarked by Grimm, than the anxiety expressed by these infidels for a christian sepulture in the church, which they gloried in desecrating during their lives. On the preceding month, the 18th, Euler's demise had deprived science of another of its highest proficients, but he was a declared believer in revelation. Various salaries and pensions had raised D'Alembert's final income from 8,200 francs, as previously stated, to about 14,000, but his beneficence was commensurate with this gradual advance; and he consequently had little to bequeath in his will, which it was found singular of observation, began with the customary, though by no means necessary, invocation of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Condorcet and De Watelet were named his executors and residuary legatees. Several epitaphs celebrated his praises, but the inscription destined for his portrait by Marmontel, his successor as secretary to the French Academy, was considered the most suitable.

"Ce sage à l'amitié rend un culte assidu,
Se dérobe à la gloire, et se cache à l'envie;
Modeste comme le génie,
Et simple comme la vertu."

His personal appearance little corresponded with his

high fame, nor was the "*gratia oris*," which instinctively won for Agricola the beholder's favour, as we learn from Tacitus, (cap. 44.) among nature's gifts to D'Alembert. His features and aspect, of homely form and expression, reflected not his innate powers, nor did his small stature and attenuated frame present any attraction to the vulgar gaze; but his conversation, sparkling with pointed and well told anecdotes, soon conciliated the disappointed eye, and rivetted all attention. And particularly when con-sociated with Mademoiselle L'Espinasse, practically guiltless as their intercourse was known to be, no society was more solicitously courted than theirs. We have already noticed his degrading condescension in administering to her passions, which even sunk him in the estimation of those from whom his own direct participation in the immorality would not have elicited a word of reproof.

These details, for D'Alembert's life was by no means confined to studious avocations, we feel confident demand no excuse, relating as they do to a person of preponderant European influence, scientific, literary, and social, far beyond the sphere of any other individual in his position, with the sole exception of Voltaire; for Rousseau, so posthumously ascendant, lived comparatively isolated and unsociable. He was the recognized chief of the philosophic faction in Paris, its central seat, whence radiated its spreading branches over the continent's expanse; and in truth, few writers could afford larger materials for a special biography, embracing the opinions, habits, manners, and views, of a period introductive of an era ever memorable in the annals of man, which rapidly succeeded it, and in the preparation of which none could be more efficiently active. We are, indeed, rather surprised that so pregnant a subject should not have produced some corresponding essay of execution. It can hardly fail, however, to do so; while we are bound to say, that Lord Brougham's sketch is a very imperfect attempt, both in the extent and accuracy of the information it assumes to convey, although the article is, next to that devoted to Voltaire, the amplest of the series, and not less one of predilection. The mathematical portion, sometimes rather of ostentatious display, is superior to the personal or historical narrative, which deficient, as is too usual with his lordship, in research, beyond the most

obvious sources, offers little that may not be gathered from any biographical repository.*

D'Alembert's miscellaneous works were collectively published in 1805, and again in 1821, while his mathematical treatises, though of far higher character, still remain unassembled, because science in general, has fewer readers, and being the aggregate of facts in most of its departments, is in daily advance, antiquating consequently, in a great degree, or disproving the preceding theories. Literature and Science in their respective influence on the human community, are thus distinguished by their special partisans. M. de Fontanes, Grand Master, as we have stated of the University, or as now understood, the Minister of Public Instruction, in his address on the 24th of April 1816, to the French Academy, fondly characterized the

* Mathematics, as already noted, formed Lord Brougham's earliest chosen study, but was soon and necessarily interrupted by his vocation to the bar and parliament, in which his eloquence at once assigned him a foremost rank. His sketches, again, of our statesmen and orators, the fruits of personal or closely traditional observation, imposing consequently no great labour, are creditable to his discrimination; but when incautiously betrayed into an ambitious display of omniscience, he aimed at the higher and graver departments of history, his impatience of research, haste of publication, and various prejudices, exposed him to constant inaccuracies of facts and views, which induced an old admirer of his talents thus withdrawn from their appropriate sphere, to address him the following advice, derived from a volume well known to his lordship, and of great literary merit in his estimation, however reprobable in other respects. "Enrico, lascia l'istoria, e studia la matematica o la rettorica." The observance of this admonition would have precluded many a charge of singular aberrations in his lordship's more recently published works. In his political career he has been likened to the "bellua anceps," the elephant in battle, (Liv. xxvii. 14.) often more formidable to his friends than to his adversaries. Nor as a writer, is he entitled to firmer confidence; for often as we have had, on this and other occasions, to indicate his misrepresentations, to rectify his errors, and from sources unknown to or unconsulted by him, to supply his omissions, we can assure our readers that these proofs of careless inquiry, precipitate judgments, and fallacious statements, might be considerably extended. For his perverted quotations, see an instance in the Gentleman's Magazine of this month, (March 1847,) in the *Minor Correspondence*, relative to Dryden's and Johnson's lines on death, at page 75 of his second volume.

distinctive sway of literature. "Un peuple qui ne serait que savant, pourrait devenir barbare; un peuple de lettres est de sa nature, et nécessairement, poli et sociable." And Cardinal de Bonald consonantly observes, "La littérature est l'expression de la société," while La Place, the modern Newton, whose successor in the Institute, Louis Puissant, afforded another instance of a mathematician's perverse temper, closes his great work with this impressive exhortation to the culture of science. "Conservons, augmentons ces hautes connaissances, les délices des têtes pensantes." To these glorious pursuits and aspirations, the animating words of Dante's Beatrice seem equally impellent.

"L'alto disio, che mo t'infiamma ed urge,
D'haver notitia di ciò, che tu vei;
Tanto mi piace più quanto più turge."*

Paradiso—Canto xxx. 67, &c.

* It is singular that in the diversified course of Napoleon's conversations at St. Helena, embracing not only war, politics, legislation, morals, &c., but literature, in no instance did they turn on mathematics, although his earliest application of mind, and the only one for which at the College of Brienne he evinced any aptitude. The unmilitary associates of his expedition to Egypt in 1798, were chosen in the scientific class of the Institute; and he contributed two or three papers, of no particular merit however, to the mathematical section of the Grand Cairo Institute; but the portable library of four hundred small volumes provided for his recreation, consisted principally of works on light literature, including translations of our Richardson, Fielding, Goldsmith, and his favourite Ossian. The Bible is adjoined to the Koran, and the Vedah under the head of metaphysics, a subject so derided by him subsequently, as the visionary yet dangerous phantasies of those he called *ideologues*. The Ex-Emperor read admirably, by no means, however desirable, a common gift, and preferably chose the French tragic writers, of whom Voltaire appeared to him by far the lowest in the relative scale of genius, to a degree of inferiority, indeed, scarcely justified by considerate and impartial judgment.

- ART. X.—1. *A Bill to render valid certain proceedings for the Relief of Distress in Ireland, by Employment of the Labouring Poor.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell, Mr. Labouchere, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1847.
- 2.—*A Bill to make further provision for the relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Labouchere. Ordered to be printed, 1847.
- 3.—*A Bill for the Temporary Relief of Destitute Persons in Ireland.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Labouchere. Ordered to be printed, 1847.
- 4.—*A Bill to stimulate the prompt and profitable employment of the people, by the Encouragement of Railways in Ireland.* Prepared and brought in by Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Hudson, Marquis of Granby, and Mr. Alderman Thompson. Ordered to be printed, 1847.
- 5.—*A Bill for Better Securing the Payment of Poor Rates in Ireland.* Prepared and brought in by Mr. Sharman Crawford, and Mr. William Williams. Ordered to be printed, 1847.
- 6.—*A Bill to provide for the Execution of the Laws for Relief of the Poor in Ireland.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Parker. Ordered to be printed, 1847.
- 7.—*How to Reconstruct the Industrial Condition of Ireland.* By JAMES WARD, Esq. London: 1847.
- 8.—*The State of Ireland and the Measures of Government for its Relief, considered with reference to the Interests of the Poor.* London: 1847.

A FEW weeks in a single session have produced a multitude of measures, each intended by its author as a mitigation of the miseries of Ireland, a panacea for its evils, or a positive protection and certain security against future misfortunes. We profess our perfect willingness to believe in the good faith of the gentlemen who have propounded these multifarious plans. Each projector, we are sure, conceives himself alone to be in the right, and is actuated by a pure philanthropy, although it may be a shallow and mistaken philosophy.

In venturing to give our own opinion, we desire to be understood as tendering it, not only with diffidence as

regards ourselves, but also with respect as regards others, whose motives we conceive to be good, and whose intentions we deem to be honest. We feel that we stand in the presence of an awful calamity—that a tremendous deluge of woe has swept over the face of our country—that whilst it rages, and absorbs its multitude of victims, the common instincts of humanity should bid every minor passion cease, should subdue into stillness every partisan, factious, and controversial animosity; and should evoke the exertion of every man, whose physical strength and mental energies are yet unabated, to give his mind, and soul, and body for the salvation of life, where it is still possible to preserve it; and to devise, if it be within the reach of human capacity to do so, the means whereby to save his country and his fellow creatures from the recurrence of such tremendous and unparalleled afflictions.

At such a moment as this we should not be captious as to the remedies proposed; but it would be equally censurable to be uncritical and indifferent. We ought not to quarrel with men because they desire, according to their own fancies, to serve Ireland; but we must not hesitate to test their plans, and, if necessary, to expose their insufficiency or inapplicability, as devised in ignorance of the past history and the present condition of Ireland.

Such are the feelings that influence us in devoting a few pages to the consideration of the measures of present relief or future improvement which have been proposed, either by the government or by private individuals, and of their applicability to the circumstances of the country.

The consideration given to each of these measures must necessarily be brief; and in order that we may at once enter upon them, we must take it as granted that the person who peruses these pages has mastered some of the details, at least, of the frightful misery, induced by an absolute famine, now prevailing in Ireland—that the capabilities of Ireland for improvement, and her natural resources, as they are exhibited in the book of Sir. R. Kane, are not unknown to the reader, and that some idea has been gained by him of the contents of the large blue books published by Lord Devon's commission. We are bound to take these things as granted, first, because none but those who are partially or wholly informed, and therefore interested, are likely to bestow a cursory perusal on this article; and, secondly because we wish to avoid repetition on a subject, all the

leading points of which have become common-place—with regard to which, its principal topic, the misery of Ireland, is stereotyped; and its grand proposition, a remedy for that misery, has from time immemorial been a puzzle to statesmen, and an exhaustless theme for speculators, pamphleteers, paragraph writers, and political quacks.

It may not be inexpedient, however, to premise a brief summary of the measures of relief adopted by the successive governments, Tory and Whig, since the first appearance of the potato disease in Ireland.

As to the Tory government, or rather Sir Robert Peel, who not only spoke but thought for the administration that bore his name, it is but justice to him to admit, that the very first rumour of the potato-blight attracted his attention; for we believe that, at the very time that England was riotous with prosperity—when a lust for gain seemed to have seized on every heart, and driven men mad, in the pursuit of gold; when rail-road scrip was regarded as a title-deed to fortune—Sir Robert Peel had anticipated the calamity that was about to overwhelm the empire. We can trace in his speeches of 1846 what was passing in his mind in September, 1845, and that the success of his Tariff, and its results upon the revenue, had less to do with the change in the Corn Laws, than the conviction that it would be impossible to maintain by law an artificially high price for food, at the very moment that Ireland was deprived of its sole means of subsistence, and the English working classes complaining of a deficiency of bread. It was not enough for one of his adroit mind, and extraordinary powers as a debater, that under his Tariffs, between the years 1841 and 1845, the value of exports had risen from £47,000,000 to 58,000,000; for, if disposed to retain the Corn Laws, he would have pointed to these very figures as *the proof* that the Corn Law was *an aid*, and not *an impediment*, to English commerce, as he so turned the argument, in a former year, to the confusion and utter ruin of Mr. Wood, a member of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and an avowed Corn Law repealer. That which convinced him as to the necessity of a change was the potato-disease, the reality of which he instantly recognized, and the fearful consequences of which he had the sagacity to provide against. To use his own words, “it was the potato-disease, the famine, that made it a duty to the Queen and country to give up those laws which re-

stricted food.”* If he failed on the 1st of November, 1845, in persuading his cabinet to open the ports to a free importation of corn, he, at least, proved then, far more than in any other act of his political life, that he was a statesman of no common order—that he was worthy to govern a great empire; for whilst inferior men would have waited their chances of success, or hoped for their escape out of a great difficulty, from accident, trick, or fortune, he was prepared to secure a certain good, to expose himself to a great responsibility.† Defeated by his colleagues—displaced—but again restored to power, he prepared the means by which he might meet parliament, and by his secret purchases of Indian corn in America have a large stock of food ready, at a reduced price, to fill the vacuum caused by the deficiency in the potato crop.

These were the great virtues of the Peel administration, as regards Ireland; and they justly pronounced their own eulogium in the following paragraphs of the Queen’s speech.

“I have to lament that, in consequence of a failure of the potato-crop in several parts of the United Kingdom, there will be a deficient supply of an article of food, which forms the chief subsistence of great numbers of my people. The disease by which the plant has been affected, has prevailed to the greatest extent in Ireland.

“I have adopted all such precautions as it was in my power to adopt, for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings which may be caused by this calamity, and I shall confidently rely on your co-operation in devising such other means for the same benevolent purpose, as may require the sanction of the legislature.”

This speech was addressed to Parliament on 22nd of January 1846, and on the following day, the then Irish Secretary, Sir T. Freemantle, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend an Act for the extension and promotion of public works in Ireland. He stated that the object of the Bill was to afford every encouragement and facility to “the employment of the people in public works and other-

* Sir R. Peel’s Speech—Debate on Address, January 22nd, 1846.

† “*Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum: et prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna. Imperium cupientibus, nihil medium inter summa aut praecepta.*” Tacitus, *Histor. Lib. ii.*

wise," and this because there was "the apprehension" of a deficiency of food in the ensuing spring and summer. By that bill, half of the total sum required for public works was to be subscribed by the localities, in which they were carried on, and the period of repayment was to be extended from three to twenty years, whilst a discretionary power was given to the Treasury as to the rate of interest to be charged on such loans.

The same night, Sir Robert Peel's Irish secretary promised to introduce "a bill to amend the Draining Act," and "a bill for the construction of small piers and harbours in Ireland, with a view to the encouragement of the fisheries in that country."

Up to this time, it is to be observed that although Sir Robert Peel had prepared the means for averting the worst consequences of a famine, he had actually done nothing to mitigate its inchoate horrors. We find Mr. O'Connell complaining at a meeting of the Repeal Association (Jan. 19th 1846,) that the fact of a famine "had been made a party question in Ireland and England." Sir Robert Peel's charity was statesmanship; his benevolent measures were parliamentary bills; not to be disregarded, nor contemned on either account; but still to be judged of, for no more than they pretended to be—as the devices of human skill to avert the visitations of Providence.

The policy of Sir Robert Peel included a measure, entitled by him, "a Bill for the better protection of life in Ireland," to which we shall again refer in the course of this article. For the present we desire only to discuss that which was proposed, or performed, as means expedient for averting the horrors of famine. Regarding them in this point of view, we must affirm of them, that they prevented much misery, gave rise to much jobbing, and left unrelieved much of suffering: whilst they were purely and in every sense of the word "temporary." They afforded no materials for future improvement, and had the failure of the potato crop been confined to the year 1845, they would have left the Irish people in that chronic state of debasing poverty, to which they have been doomed for centuries—that state, which is thus depicted in the ever-memorable words of the Devon Commissioners:—

"It would be impossible to describe adequately the privations

which they and their families habitually and patiently endure. It will be seen in the evidence, that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water, that their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather—that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury, and that nearly in all, their pig and manure heap constitute their only property.”*

The utmost success to be gained from the Peel policy was this—that having saved from famine, the millions in Ireland, it would have restored them to the same condition in which it found them. It was the feeding of a host whilst marching from one point of danger to another. It was, at best, but a Commissary-General’s policy; not the strategic skill of a great Commander, who by the able disposition of his forces can safely move them from a post of peril into an impregnable position.

The strongest government this country has ever seen was at length broken up, and driven from office;—bequeathing, by *its acts*, no great moral lesson to the empire as to the proper mode of conducting the affairs of Ireland. On the contrary, it eventually laid down these principles, that, in case the usual misery of the population was invaded by any unforeseen calamity, they were to be cared for by the government, and, *coute qu’il coute*, the rights of the landlords were to be preserved intact—that is, their rights to have the uncontrolled management of their lands and the uttermost farthing that could be squeezed from their tenantry, received, with the smallest possible deduction from those rents, in the shape of poor rates, police rates, taxes, &c. Thus, one of the provisions of the “Protection of Life Ireland Bill,” was, that the expenses created by the operation of that measure should be levied upon the occupying tenants in the disturbed districts, and not upon the landlords. The manner in which such a provision would have operated was thus described by Mr. O’Connell:

“By this bill no grand jury or magistrate can interfere, but the entire is done at the will of the Lord Lieutenant, who appoints his tax-master-general to go about and levy contributions. That tax falls upon the poor, and the rich man escapes, and yet this bill is called a bill to make life and property secure in Ireland. How is it to do so? The wretched man scarcely able to exist at present—poor

* Report of Lord Devon’s Commission, p. 35.

as poor can be—scarcely able to pay his rent—will have, in addition, that enormous tax to pay. If he refuse to pay it, you can get a stipendiary magistrate, or any other magistrate, to call out the army or the police to go and distrain and sell the goods, by force, if necessary; you give an irresistible force for the levy being made with certainty; but what becomes of the man against whom the levy is made? Have you conciliated him? Have you rendered him less liable to commit offences?—Will it make him better disposed towards the noblemen and gentlemen who pay nothing? Nay, in what situation do you place him and his landlord? One of the greatest evils of Ireland is the clearance system. See what an adjunct this measure will be to the clearance system. The landlord has additional powers to levy his rent—he has already too much; but in addition to that, the poor man is obliged to guard the rich man by the payment of taxation. He must give up possession of his holding whenever the remnant of his property is sold, and when he has no property, but is a starveling in the land, what security can you have against the wild madness of a wretch of that description? It is likewise an additional stimulant to clear the land; because a man must necessarily be a bad tenant when this additional burden is put upon him. When the landlord enters into possession he has not this additional tax to pay, so that he derives an advantage from clearing it. In addition to other stimulants to clear it, he has the reward in anticipation of not having this tax to pay when he has cleared the land of his tenantry.”*

So far, therefore, Sir Robert Peel, who deserted his party to benefit the empire, was at least faithful to those to whom he had first pledged his troth, and committed his character, as an Irish secretary; and his last measures, even the best of them, seemed less calculated to save the Irish labouring poor (though this was their direct tendency), than to confer a great boon upon the landed proprietors of Ireland.

Sir Robert Peel was succeeded by the Whigs, and we have now to see what they did to avert or mitigate the famine in Ireland.

The Whigs came into office in the month of June, 1846, and for two months afterwards there was every appearance of an abundant harvest. “Early in August, it was first known, that the potato crop, which up to that time had been most promising, and even luxuriant, was suddenly

* Debate in House of Commons on Irish Coercion Bill, April 3rd, 1846.

blighted and in a great measure destroyed.”* The full extent of the evil might be surmised, but could not be known, whilst the hope was entertained by the Government, that the blight would not be greater than it had been in the preceding year. “In fact there had been a very productive crop of potatoes during the previous year, even though much of that crop had been injured.”† The Whigs, according to their own showing, miscalculated the nature and extent of the misfortune that was impending over Ireland; and hence all their measures were “short measures”—each of them too small for the occasion, and none of them great enough for the emergency. They adopted, and made no addition to, the Public Works Bill of Sir Robert Peel; but they could not imitate, as it was impossible for them to do so, his *grand coup* of a private purchase of Indian meal in the American markets. They bought food privately, but they did not sell it at the right time; they established food depots, but did not open them at the proper opportunity; they had from forty to fifty vessels occupied in carrying food; they aided in the establishment of nine hundred and fifty Relief Committees throughout Ireland: at length they opened soup-kitchens; procured mills for the grinding of corn; overstept the provisions of the law by Mr. Labouchere’s letter, which set aside the act of parliament; and, finally, met the legislature with the declaration, that they were then giving employment to 470,000 persons, representing a population of 2,000,000, at an expense of £158,000 a week.‡ If the Whigs, therefore, could boast of great exertions, their measures were, in point of fact, tardy and inadequate; for all their labours, their toils, and anxieties were accompanied, day after day, by verdicts of the coroner’s juries, that men, women, and children “had died of starvation!”

* Earl Grey in Debate in House of Lords, January 25th, 1847.

† Lord John Russell in Debate in the House of Commons, January 25th, 1847.

‡ Lord John Russell. Debate in House of Commons, January 19th, 1847. The number of persons employed on public works, increased in a few weeks to 700,000. See Debate in House of Commons, March 5th, 1847. The amount spent in relief works in the month of February, was £944,141. The number employed on them, in the week ending the 27th February, 708,228. Debate in the House of Commons, March 12th, 1847.

And thus, when the Whig government came before parliament, they were doomed to be taunted, on the one hand, by the political economists for having violated the principles of the "great science," and to be accused, on the other, by some disposed to be their friends, and by others who were their avowed opponents, that "a rigid adherence to political economy had aggravated the evils of the country; that they ought to have established depots of provisions, selling them at a fair market value, so as to keep down famine prices;* that they ought "to have remitted the duties on corn three months previously;"† that they ought "to have sent their eight ships of the line, which they had ready for sea, to America for corn;"‡ and that they ought "to have removed the 4s. duty on corn earlier."§

The manner in which ministers attempted to answer these objections will be seen in the reports of the debates. The fact is, that they found themselves perfectly unprepared, "under the visitation of an unparalleled calamity—a famine of the thirteenth century acting on a population of the nineteenth."|| They failed, we are free to admit, not from a want of good will, but because they did not at once comprehend all the perils of their position; and when, at length, a portion of the reality burst upon them, they endeavoured to control it by applying to it the weak principles of a science imperfectly understood. They attempted to halt between the axioms of political economy and the emergencies of a great nation—the first were forced to bend, and in the end were broken by the latter; and thus, with the loud wail of famine ringing in their ears, ministers had to consider what measures they ought to propose to parliament.

Lord John Russell met the parliament on Monday, January 25th, with eight distinct propositions as to the

* Lord Stanley. Debate in the House of Lords, January 19th, 1847.

† Mr. Smith O'Brien. Debate in the House of Commons, January 19th, 1847.

‡ Lord George Bentinck. *Ibid.*

§ Sir Robert Peel. *Ibid.*

|| Lord John Russell. Debate in House of Commons, January 25th, 1847.

present relief and future government of Ireland. He then stated it was intended to embody in acts of parliament these propositions:

"*First*.—To abandon the whole system pursued under the Act of last session, to give up the public works, and to remit to Irish property, on the security of which advances to the extent of two millions have been made by the Exchequer, one half of that sum.

"*Second*.—To constitute Relief Committees upon an extended scale, which shall purchase food and distribute it among the people, the funds to be provided by rates on property, government grants, and private donations.

"*Third*.—To furnish a loan of £50,000, for the purchase of seed, for green crops.

"*Fourth*.—To furnish private loans of money, for the improvement of estates.

"*Fifth*.—To furnish advances of money for the purpose of extensive drainage through the Board of Works, on the security of the properties benefitted.

"*Sixth*.—To expend one million on the purchase and reclaiming of waste lands.

"*Seventh*.—To extend the operations of the present Poor Law.

"*Eighth*.—To enable the owners of encumbered estates, held in tail, to relieve their properties in selling a part.

"*Ninth*.—To improve the tenure on which land is held.

"*Tenth*.—To afford increased aid and assistance to the fisheries of Ireland."

Every one of these, with the exception of the sixth, seventh, and eighth, is vehemently denounced and strongly opposed by the political economists.* In addition to these, the government has suspended the corn and navigation laws, proposed the use of sugar as well as malt in breweries and distilleries, and effected a loan of £8,000,000 for the purpose of relieving distress in Ireland.

Some may think that, in the ten propositions which we have stated, the government does not go far enough; others may be convinced that they go too far; few, we believe, who are acquainted with the state of Ireland, will be disposed to say that, however they may err in detail, the principles upon which they proceed are erroneous. They at least embody an attempt to meet the present necessities of the case; and, as regards the future, they propose to aid

* See *Economist* newspaper, January 30th, 1847, from which the preceding abstract of Lord John Russell's proposition is copied.

the Irish, who are without capital, in developing the resources of their country, in maintaining themselves by their own industry, and preventing the poor of Ireland from starving in their native land.

In such propositions as these we freely recognize an honest and a sincere commiseration for the misery of the Irish, and the misfortunes of the country. It is not because men are unable to see things as we view them, that we are to suspect they wilfully look awry, and deliberately close their eyes upon what seem to us as self-evident facts. If these measures be timid and incomplete, we have evidence of the sincerity of their proposers in the offence which so many of their propositions have given to that politico-economic party, of which the Whigs constitute, if not the nucleus, at least the recognised parliamentary champions—that almost omnipotent party in England, whose God is Plutus, and with whom the accumulation of wealth is the ne-plus-ultra of good government—who regard man but as an acquisitive animal, whose primal duty it is to possess himself, like the fool in the Gospel, of a well-stocked granary, a full wine cellar, and fatted cattle, where-with he may eat and be merry, and careless whether or not to-morrow he die; because the soul is excluded from their calculations.

To have forsworn their followers, and abjured these cherished tenets, for the purpose of saving life and guarding it from future danger, are proofs of sincerity on the part of the Whigs, which we cannot be slow to acknowledge nor unwilling to avow.

The governments have not been alone in these measures for Ireland. Every party of politicians and every clique of opinionists has proposed its panacea.

To make Ireland happy, Mr. Poulett Scrope proposes the 43rd of Elizabeth; to content her Mr. Roebuck proposes the Income Tax; to secure her future happiness, the politico-economists would have the government confine itself “strictly to its own legitimate functions,” which *they* define to be “furnishing *whatever means*” may be “needful to preserve order, and protect life and property”—in other words, as poverty increased, so should the police—that food depots should be replaced by arsenals—soup-kitchens by artillery—that Ireland, in the most dire convulsions of her despair, should have more military, more jails, and more stringent laws to restrain her; and for

such purposes "*no powers should have been withheld, and no expense grudged.*"* That our politico-economists, who propound such a system of government as this, are moved thereto by a hatred of the Irish, we do not believe. On the contrary, we think that they value the country in the abstract—there are such materials of wealth in her soil! and as to the people, we are convinced that "*they rather like them!*" the Irish are such convenient drudges—they are so useful in harvest-time in reducing, by competition, the wages of the English peasant—and they are content with so little for their toil, that their numbers in England, by lowering the price of labour, adds so considerably to the profits of the capitalist, enables him to accumulate so much more quickly than he otherwise could do, that our politico-economists cannot but esteem the Irish—as they do the steam-engine, and for the same reason. It is not, because the politico-economists hate the Irish, that they would rule them by martial law in a time of pestilence and famine, but because they think it, first, the great duty of a government to preserve "*the life*" of the rich man, and "*the property*" of the capitalist; and, next, because they do not like to see England contracting a loan of £8,000,000 for the unremunerative preservation of surplus labour. In their calculations a hundred lives and a hundred pounds are but abstract quantities of unequal proportions, for the latter represents interest and profit, the former only the zero of humanity and a certain loss; and on the purest principles of human reasoning, it is a species of insanity to sacrifice that which is always of value to that which, in the present state of the market for employment, is a drug! To attempt to convince these philosophers that they are in error, would be as vain as to have endeavoured to prove to Don Quixote that the days of knight-errantry had passed away, when he could affirm, that the necessity for the institution still existed, as men had not ceased to be false, nor maidens forlorn.

We pass from the politico-economists to the measures which have been submitted to parliament by persons unconnected with the government. We shall confine ourselves to those which have assumed the distinctive form of a substantive resolution or bill: as the bills proposed by

* See *Economist* newspaper, February 27th, 1847, pp. 225-228.

Mr. Sharman Crawford and by Lord George Bentinck. The first, who is an old and well-tried friend of the rights of the occupying tenant, declared, in a resolution which we take to be an undeniable truth, "that no measures can be effectual in producing a demand for labour, and improving the condition of the people, which shall not include such an amendment of the laws of landlord and tenant, as shall give to the improving tenant in occupation a sufficient permanency of tenure, or else establish the tenant's right to claim by law full compensation for all benefits created by the expenditure of his labour and capital on the premises in his occupation."* The substance of this resolution was subsequently embodied by Mr. Sharman Crawford in the "Tenants' (Ireland) Bill;"† and both principles may be found in a notice given by Mr. O'Connell, so long back as July, 1846, when he declared it to be his intention to propose to parliament—1st. "An Act for the establishing

* See Debate in House of Commons, February 11th, 1847.

† Debate in the House of Commons, February 25th, 1847. How urgent is the necessity for such a measure, is proved by the Very Rev. Dr. Collins, P. P., of Mallow, who is reported to have thus addressed Lord John Russell:—

"Mutual distrust exists, which, at present, is particularly to be deplored, as it prevents the cultivation of the soil. The smaller farmers say, 'Why should we cultivate the ground when the landlord will seize all the produce of the harvest for the rent?' They add, '*We have not seed, nor money to pay for labour—if we had, our labour would be of no use to our families, for the landlords would take all to themselves.*' This state of things creates a well-grounded apprehension that Ireland is only in the beginning of sorrows, which must naturally affect England in her turn—her position in regard to which country, may be compared to that of a living body united to a dead one. To save both countries, it would be necessary for his lordship to go directly to his object, without regard to the interests that might interpose themselves—to set aside the ordinary rules which regulate a Government, by acting on principles savouring somewhat of despotism. He (Dr. Collins,) would with great humility suggest to his lordship, to cause a law to be passed with a view to the proper cultivation of the land, whereby only one-third of the crops sown since last September, or to be sown during the present year, should be liable to seizure for rent or arrears of rent. This he (Dr. Collins) admitted was a sort of despotism, but a necessary inevitable one in the present state of that country."—*Dublin Evening Post*, Feb. 23rd, 1847.

throughout Ireland of the Tenant Right;” and 2ndly. “An Act to provide full compensation in all cases where the Tenant Right may not sufficiently apply for all solid and valuable improvements to be made, or already made, by the occupying tenant.” The second bill of Mr. Sharman Crawford is one comparatively of minor importance, and has reference to the manner in which the poor rates should be collected in Ireland. Its postponement “till after Easter,” renders any further observation upon it unnecessary.*

We regret still more the necessity of disposing with equal brevity of the “Irish Railways Bill” of Lord George Bentinck. It was a remarkable proposition, coming from the leader of the High Tory party; from one, too, whose friend and adviser is—Lord Stanley! The more we consider that plan in its permanent bearing upon the welfare of Ireland, the more convinced are we that every promise held out in it would have been realized—that it would have added to the wealth of Ireland—increased its revenue—enriched its population—been a boon to landowners—an incalculable advantage to farmers and shopkeepers—beneficially employed 110,000 families, or 500,000 souls for four years; whilst every shilling advanced by England towards the accomplishment of those great objects would have been repaid by interest. It was a valuable project; but, considered in itself as a means of providing present relief and employment, it was entirely inadequate, and, in many respects, inapplicable; and it was brought forward at an inappropriate time. It was a good thing out of season; and, in the condition of the Stock Exchange, impracticable. It failed, because its success in parliament could not have insured its success elsewhere; and its triumph in the House of Commons would have involved the downfall of the existing government, at a moment when Ireland most required the care of those in authority, and the empire could not, without great danger, be exposed to the anarchical struggles of three weak parties for office. Lord George Bentinck’s Irish Railways Bill was rejected; but we trust that its principle is not forgotten, and that if it has been postponed, this principle, with some modification of its details, may be revived at no distant period.

* See Debate in House of Commons, Feb. 25th, 1847.

We have already, in a former page, dwelt at some length on the spirit in which legislation, in order to be effective, must be made to proceed. Where the evils that afflict a country are many, the remedies to be applied to them must be numerous before we can hope to see the symptoms of returning health. The embrocation that relieves the throbbing temple will not mend the broken limb ; so thinks the physician : but such seldom appears to be the notion that influences our "medicine men" in polity. They profess to have one remedy for everything, and they are only wise and honest when they intimate, that what they propose as a grand and a saving measure includes the enforcement of many other, many important, and many minute measures. Thus, if it be asked in the present condition of Ireland, "What ought to be done?" Our answer is, No one measure, that the wit of man could devise, would be sufficient to mitigate its present sufferings, to ameliorate the condition of the people, or secure them against the recurrence of evils such as those with which they are now afflicted. But if we are asked in what manner we would commence our treatment of Ireland, we at once reply,—*By providing for the present and the future subsistence of the population of Ireland.*

Legislation, *in a kindly spirit*, ought to begin with the masses—the foundation of all society ; and that same spirit ought to be carried upward, as it was applied to each grade in Ireland, or connected by property with Ireland.

The spirit that dictated the demand on the public credit for £8,000,000, to prevent the population from being starved to death, ought to be breathed into every clause of a Poor Law for Ireland, establishing the right of the poor not merely to sustenance in the workhouse, but to out-door relief, labour for that relief being the only condition imposed upon the able-bodied pauper, and such relief being unconditional where the applicant was aged, impotent, infantile, or infirm.

The situation of Ireland, the history of every civilized country with which we are best acquainted, convince us that, wherever the government and the property of a nation have been Protestantized, poor laws become an unavoidable necessity. Wherever the monastery is destroyed, the workhouse must be erected, and the mercenary must, however grudgingly and inefficiently, discharge some, at least, of those duties, so fully, so willingly, and so well

performed by the monk and the nun. Such, as we have already shown in a former article, has been the case in England; and so it has been with Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, Wirtemberg, Holland — so, too, with Belgium, when infidelity had accomplished that which heresy had before in vain attempted.

We may feel confident that in a country which is purely Catholic, whose government and whose people are alike animated with a Catholic spirit, both will combine in performing that great, good work, “feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, harbouring the harbourless;” that, however opposite may be the conditions in life of the rich and the poor, each will feel he is necessary to the other—that the rich man is made for the poor, the poor man for the rich—that the rich man is bound to give, the poor man to pray—that both thus afford mutual aid in the attainment of heaven, and that the rich man cannot refuse aid to the poor without exposing himself to eternal perdition.* If the governing power be Protestant, and the people Catholic, as in Ireland; or if the government and people be both Protestant, as in England and some states on the continent; or if the governing power be Catholic, and the people either in a state of barbarism or infidelity, or suffering from the invasions of barbarians or infidels,—then a law, like the Capitulary of Charlemagne, may properly enforce the subsistence of the poor on the communities to which they belong;† or may, like the noble bequest of King Ethelwulf, render the royal domains for ever liable to the support of the poor.‡ In all cases where an impediment exists to the free and perfect action of a Christian state and a Christian community, some aid is required to charity, or there may be demanded, for the preservation of life, the rigid and stringent enforcement of a poor law.

A modern author, Rosmini, (whose opinions have been the subject of much controversy, but who seems to have

* S. Augustin. Serm. 367, de Verb. Evang. vol. vii. p. 1461.

† “Suos quaeque civitas pauperes alito.” Capit. Carl. Mag. See also Capit. 803, § 3. 805, § 1. § 3. 806, § 9. Pertz. Monument. Germ. Histor. (Legum.) Vol. i. pp. 110, 130, 135, 144.

‡ “Semperque ad finem seculi in omni suæ hæreditatis decima hida pauperem vestiri et cibari præcepit.” W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. ii.

thought profoundly on every subject on which he has written,) although opposed to a poor-law in the abstract, yet admits not only the necessity, but the justice, of it in England; he regards such a law, he says, as a restitution made by the rich to the poor of England.* If this be true as regards the English poor, who, in the destruction of the monasteries and the spoliation of the Church, were robbed of their estates, and deprived of the ever tender watchful almoners of "out-door relief" to them, *a fortiori* how much more just is it as respects the Irish poor, who were not merely despoiled of those advantages, but whose numbers were increased by the spoliation, of the Irish proprietors, of their estates?

The justice of having an efficient poor law in Ireland, we humbly think we have already proved. Not a poor law like the present, which upon a rental of £13,000,000, as calculated by Lord Mountcashel, has but a deduction of £390,000 for one year's poors' rates;† but a poor law which will secure and enforce out-door relief. *The necessity* for such a poor law cannot be more strongly urged than in the following words addressed to Lord John Russell by the Very Rev. D. M. Collins, P. P. of Cloyne, as President of the Deputation from the Diocese of Cloyne:

"They (the Roman Catholic clergy) looked upon out-door relief in a two-fold point of view—viz., as a means to arrest the progress of the existing calamity in Ireland, and as a means to prevent its recurrence. When he (Dr. Collins) served as a curate in the parish of Skibbereen, and the adjoining parish of Tullough, in the year 1822, the then relief committee had 9,000 persons on their poor lists, out of a population of about 11,000. This proved that the existing evil was not one of recent growth, and hence a radical cure was necessary to prevent its periodical return. Out-door relief could effect that end, by forcing on the owners of the soil the proper discharge of the duties annexed to their position. Unfortunately, that class in Ireland seemed to think that their occupation in life should be to extort as much as possible from the poor peasantry. This state of things accounts for the periodical return of famine and destitution among the people of that unfortunate country, who,

* Perciò la tassa de' poveri, considerata come una cotal restituzione che fa il governo, diventa un rimedio necessario, una specie di soddisfazione." *Della sommaria cagione per la quale stanno o rovinano le umane società*, p. 22.

† Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Feb. 22nd, 1847.

whenever they lost the potato crop, were unable to go to the market to purchase other species of food. There was no restraint on the landlords to create destitution to any amount, because the poor had no claim upon the soil for subsistence by law. If such a claim was acknowledged, the landlords, instead of making paupers, would exert their ingenuity and resources to discover the means of employment for the people, whereby the value of their properties would be enhanced, and the miseries of the people guarded against. Hence the Roman Catholic clergy of Cloyne and Ross looked upon out-door relief to the able-bodied as a means to an end—viz., the procurement of employment for the people."

Admitting, then, that we have proved both the justice and necessity of having an efficient poor law in Ireland, we then look at the present state of Ireland, and we find, that there is expended for the relief of the poor no less a sum than £1,000,000 a month; and should there be a failure of the next harvest, as there has been of the last, that expenditure, at the least, must be continued. Eight millions, it is proposed by the government, should be given to feed the Irish poor, whether they work or not; £1,500,000 to be advanced to the Irish landlords, to aid them in improving their estates; £1,000,000 towards the reclamation of waste lands. Thus, the only chance of deduction from a monthly expenditure of a million, is the prospect of return from £50,000's worth of seed in green crops, the improvement of landlords' estates, at an expenditure, on the average, of 19d. per acre! and from a scanty million devoted to the reclamation of the waste lands of Ireland.

We thus present in one view the justice, the necessity, and the difficulties of the case, which we desire to place before our readers. But, in stating thus much, we do not fully dwell on all its embarrassments. There is also this incident in the condition of Ireland, which, next to its actual famine, is the most appalling proof of its desperate situation—the determination of the peasant-tenants, in many parts of the country, not to till the ground, because of their conviction that to do so would be only to benefit their landlords, without securing food for themselves!

Such is the state of affairs to which the imperial legislation is now called upon to apply a remedy. To stop the drain of a million a month to Ireland, that remedy must be efficient, and must include many measures—effective in their action, sure in their results, beneficial in their operation. How must they begin? As every society begins;

by mutual co-operation securing food, raiment, shelter for every industrious man belonging to it. Here is a nation of paupers in a fertile country, situated in the heart of the richest empire in the world. What is to be done for that nation? Because to say, that it shall go on, as it now is, is declaring that its unmitigated misery shall drain the empire of its wealth, exhaust its resources, and render it incapable of resisting the attacks of a foreign enemy.

It is charity to feed the helpless poor—it is statesmanship to secure to the poor the fruits of their labour, to nerve their arms to industry, and to fill their hearts, not with the vain hope, but the perfect certainty, that *the land* which their toil renders productive, shall henceforth be *their security* against utter starvation. Statesmanship, however, does not consist in issuing ukases—in declaring “that there shall be a poor-law affording out-door relief;” it gives, by good measures, the country on which it imposes such a burden, the strength to bear it, and the capacity to meet the many demands consequent upon such an enactment.

The Property and Income Tax for Ireland ought to be an *efficient Poor Law*; that is, every man ought to be made to contribute to it in proportion to the profit which he derives, whether directly or incidentally, from the soil and its produce. The tenant, the middle-man, the landlord, the mortgagee, should each have a per centage deducted from their incomes for the support of the poor, and that increased or diminished in proportion to the necessities of each year. In such a case as this, we do not conceive that the mortgagee would have any more right to complain of a breach of contract with him, than the purchaser in the funds in 1841, had a right to complain that Sir Robert Peel’s Income Tax took from him 7d. in the pound in that interest which he had purchased on the faith of the public credit, and for the full amount of which interest he had, as he conceived, *government security*. The case of the Irish mortgagee in 1847 is not, we conceive, as strong as that of the English fundholder in 1841; for here the land on which he lent money has been blighted by a visitation of Providence, and if *all* having an interest in it do not, each in his particular sphere, make some sacrifice, it becomes as useless and profitless to all now having a lien upon it as if Louis Philippe had gained possession of the country, and, like other invaders, parcelled it out and

appropriated it to the benefit of his several followers. In such a case, of what value would his mortgage be to the Anglo-Irish creditor? About as much as it will continue to be, should the present condition of Ireland be perpetuated, and should its population regard themselves as doomed to bear such sufferings as they have hitherto endured, or ultimately to sink under such afflictions as now overwhelm them.

All who are connected with, interested, or involved, in Irish affairs, must make up their mind as to the unavoidable necessity of enduring a great sacrifice in money, and of those profits hitherto derived by them from Ireland. Their present duty and their future welfare alike require this. The burden will fall heavily upon all; but that class which will have the least reason to complain of it, is composed of those to whom so large a portion of the property of the poor was transferred in the last legal settlement of the tithe question.

Let it be supposed that an honest, a merciful, and an efficient poor law is established in Ireland, we have then to consider how it is to be borne. In the present state of Ireland, if unaccompanied by other measures, it would be intolerable.* It would be a confiscation of the land of Ireland to the poor of Ireland; and the utmost which humanity could effect would be to leave Ireland, as it is, a nation of paupers,—without any accumulative capital—

* “The people of Ireland had now nothing left—their industry and their whole subsistence were destroyed; they had nothing to induce them to persevere, and their whole capital had been destroyed by this ruin. It had been estimated that the amount of the loss of food in Ireland was £16,000,000; but not only had this loss occurred, but the seed had also been consumed and destroyed, the seed, in many instances, having been consumed, or sold for small prices, in order to obtain food; and in some places the people had parted with their heaps of manure, in order to get a little money to buy food. He would not estimate the amount in money, which must be added were the items to be taken into account. All that there was to meet this crisis, was the £10,000,000 to be expended by the Government to feed the people, there being absolutely nothing left to be depended upon in Ireland. If the people of Ireland were to look to the landlords for support, it must be recollected that the employment to be found had never been able to meet the demand there.”—Mr. John O’Connell. Debate in House of Commons, March 5th, 1847. *Times* report.

incapable of weathering out, unassisted by extraneous aid, another storm similar to that which has now visited it. The government, then, would only perform a small portion of its duty, if it merely imposed an efficient poor law upon Ireland, fed its starving millions until next harvest, enabled embarrassed landlords to sell a portion of their estates, and advanced in all £2,550,000 for improvement of lands, the cultivation of wastes, and the growing of green crops.

To enable Ireland to bear a poor law—to capacitate Ireland for future independence and prosperity, much more must be done. Three things at least must be looked to; and that not alone by direct patronage and actual grants of money, but also by the encouragement and incorporation of companies for the furtherance of these objects—

1st. The promotion of the Irish Fisheries.

2nd. The reclamation and colonization of the Waste Lands.

3rd. The introduction of Railroads.

The “Piers and Harbours Act,” of last Session, (9 and 10 Victoria, c. 3,) was the first effectual movement attempted for many years to promote Irish fisheries. It has made the commencement with £50,000, to aid in doing that, which those who are the best judges on the subject, declare to be a work of absolute necessity, that is, providing harbours of refuge, near as possible to the bank, where the fish are to be found.* The additional supply of food, the increase of wealth, the abundance that might be created around the shores of Ireland, by the employment of capital in this branch of industry, were fully exhibited in the debate on Lord George Bentinck’s motion; and the importance to England of having, in case of war, in the Irish fishermen excellent sailors for her navy, will be found fully demonstrated in the Report presented to the Repeal Association, by Mr. Maurice O’Connell.† Whilst the neglect that has characterised the legislature on this point is thus stated:—“a sum of £1,400,000 had been expended on Scotch fisheries since 1809; while on Irish fisheries

* See a paper read by Mr. Deane before the Royal Dublin Society, and also a valuable series of papers in the *Nation* newspaper for the present year.

† Reports of Repeal Association, 1844, Vol. 1. pp. 315, 316.

there had been only £300,000 spent since 1800.”* This neglect must cease. If it be desired to benefit Ireland and to strengthen the Empire—to make the one internally rich, and the other externally impregnable, large, liberal, sufficient grants should be made for the promotion and protection of the Irish fisheries, for the embodiment and disciplining of brave sailors, who, like to those in 1782, to the number of ten thousand, manned the fleet of Lord Rodney, and won for England one of her most glorious naval victories.

(2.) As regards the cultivation of waste lands, we are well aware that of all the good plans proposed for the permanent benefit of the Irish population, this is the one least likely to be successful. It has already encountered the opposition of the politico-economists, and (what is more important) of Sir Robert Peel—who, forgetting his usual gravity, described Lord John Russell, in proposing any such plan, as “an improver of Irish bogs.”† Fortunately Sir Robert’s argument consists in the wit, and the wit is as heavy as the argument is light.

Contrast this Peel-joke about “an Improver of Irish bogs,” with the fact of the recognised capability of Irish bogs for improvement.

The Commissioners on the nature and extent of bogs in Ireland, in their fourth report (1814, p. 17,) say:—

“We confidently pronounce that the extent of peat soil in Ireland exceeds 2,830,000 English acres, of which we have shown at least *one million five hundred and seventy-six thousand acres* to consist of flat bog; all of which, according to the opinions above declared, might be converted to the general purposes of agriculture; the remaining 1,255,000 acres form the covering of mountains, of which a very large proportion might be improved, at a *small expense*, for pasture, or still more beneficially applied to the purposes of plantation. We wish, indeed, it were possible to fix the attention of their proprietors upon this subject, so connected with the interests of the British empire.”

Let us look also to the statement recently made by an Engineer, as to the employment that might be produced, and the comfort that might be diffused, by the conversion of

* Mr. John O’Connell in Debate, House of Commons, Feb. 15th, 1847.

† Debate in House of Commons, Feb. 2nd, 1847.

the soil of bogs into peat manure and peat charcoal.* The writer shows that a small expenditure in this way, would give a full and profitable employment to thousands of the poor in different parts of Ireland. And yet such a source of employment, and such means of locating the poor are to be abandoned because—Sir Robert Peel “loves a joke,” whilst hundreds are daily dying of starvation or perishing by fever!

There were memorable words once pronounced on this subject, in the very centre of “the waste lands and bogs” of Ireland. In a few sentences we are told how desolate now is the region of Connemara, and how the care of man, and the watchfulness of a paternal Government, might convert it into a scene of industry and happiness. The extract is brief: the beauty of its language will ensure its perusal, and a wise administration would act upon the suggestion it contains.

“Oh! I love the wild and majestic scenery through which I have this day passed in coming to your meeting. Perhaps I might be justified in saying, that nature did not intend me for a politician; but that judging from my feelings, I was rather destined to pass my life in the quiet and undisturbed admiration and enjoyment of nature’s beauty and magnificence. The scenery which I have this day passed through has made me think so. It filled my soul with a thrilling and indescribable sensation, to behold that wild and swelling morass surrounded by cloud-capt and majestic mountains—the regions of the storm and the mist; and the quiet lake surrounded by the high and heath-covered banks, or sometimes embosomed in the midst of trees, its surface scarcely disturbed by the soft and perfumed autumnal breeze, while the tiny waves by which it was rippled, seemed to smile approbation on our procession as it advanced along the banks. I love the music of the running waters, the silvery echoes of the mountain rill, and the sound of the torrent rushing over the brow of the precipice. They seemed to whisper to my soul the joys of youth, to arouse the energies of manhood, and to dictate to me a command that I could not refuse to obey, to rouse every energy of my soul, every power of my mind, every faculty of my being, to make that majestic and neglected country the garden and the paradise for which nature has so obviously designed it. Yes, in my flattering hopes for my country,

* “An appeal for the Irish peasantry, with facts of paramount advantage to the Iron Masters, Manufacturers, and Agriculturalists of England, respecting the value of Peat and Peat-charcoal, as a fuel and fertilizer.”—By J. W. Rogers, C. E.

I would fain think that the injustice and misgovernment of the oppressor, have left this noble district the desolate wilderness which we find it, in order that the effects of our country's regeneration, should be made in it powerfully and immediately obvious to the world, when the stream which murmurs among its lowly villages shall be converted to a manufacturing power, and its harbours be filled with the commerce of the western world."*

It is however objected by the politico-economists, that "if you reclaim the waste lands of Ireland, and place the pauper population upon them, you lay out money to accomplish mischief—the great evil of Ireland being its subdivision of land, and small holdings the cause of all the present misery." To this objection it might be replied, that facts do not correspond with their theory; for, comparing the wealthiest part of Ireland, with the poorest—that in which distress is least felt, with that in which it is most felt—Ulster with Connaught, the number of small farms in the first is greater than in the second.

Taking it however to be true that the subdivision of land is the bane of Ireland, what is the value of the objection of the politico-economists to the cultivation and allocation of waste lands by and amongst the destitute poor of Ireland? It is strange that those who are so fond of figures should be so obtuse as to facts, when they have "a notion" to hunt up, "a principle" to be maintained, or "a theory" to illustrate. They forget, that what is now to be done in Ireland is not to found a new society, but to

* Speech of Mr. O'Connell at the Repeal meeting at Clifden. *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, September 23rd, 1843. In the debate on Mr. John O'Connell's proposals respecting the state of Ireland, March 5th, 1847, Mr. Labouchere thus referred to the state of Connaught, and the Christian patience of its population:—"I trust the honourable gentleman and the other Irish members will do me the justice to admit that I have never attempted to underrate the importance of the crisis, and I will say that in my opinion, if any circumstance was necessary at the present juncture to stimulate the Government or the Legislature to do everything in their power for the benefit of their Irish fellow-countrymen, it would be found in the *patient endurance of calamities almost beyond human power to sustain, which the suffering people of Ireland have manifested*. I make this remark with reference to the general body of the Irish people, but I also refer particularly to the people of Connaught and the West coast of Ireland, where *the distress has been almost inconceivably great*."

deal with a state of things already established—that there are now the millions in Ireland unemployed—depending for their daily bread on the Treasury; and that a million a month, without any return, must go to their support, or more than a million must be given to employ them, and as, in the case of the waste lands, with the certainty of giving them an independent existence, and thus rendering them contributors to the public Exchequer, instead of being pensioners upon it. The question is not whether there should be large or small farms in Ireland, but whether the poor of Ireland are to be State paupers, or independent labourers; or, according to the plan of the *Economist*, starved to death under the careful superintendence of the police, and the vigilant eye of an increased military establishment. If the question were between small and large farms, we would place these facts and figures before the Economists.

“Ireland contains of cultivated or cultivatable land eighteen millions of acres; and on the calculation that a farm of 500 acres gives employment at the rate of twenty men through the whole year, if the available land be divided into 36,000 farms, employment will be given for 720,000 individuals; but the agricultural population being 5,406,743, the difference, about four millions and a half, would be left without subsistence, in a country of no manufacture, or few public works, or any mode of living but the soil.”* What, we ask the Economists, are they to do with the four millions and a half of Irish population “*without subsistence*,” when abolishing small and establishing large farms in Ireland? They have already answered the question, by telling us how they would *enforce peace*, amid a nation of starving men. “*For this purpose*, no powers should have been withheld and no expenditure grudged.”†

This might be in accordance with the shrewdness of political economy; but it would be certainly bad government, for it would justify the loss of a kingdom, and might involve the ruin of an empire.

(3.) The judicious introduction and encouragement of Railroads. *This* was the proposal of one of the wisest,

* Report of Repeal Association, on Industrial Resources of Ireland, pp. 232, 233.

† *Economist* newspaper, February 27th, 1847.

ablest, and most honest men, who ever aided in the government of Ireland. That which Thomas Drummond proposed, none but a faction infuriated with a thirst for power, could have refused. The plan, however, which Mr. Drummond desired in 1839, and the Tories opposed, was far different from the plan of Lord George Bentinck, and also far superior to it. It would have advanced the public money on the security of the Irish Counties for making railways—it would have made these railways the means of employment, and of future profit—and whilst they benefited Ireland, have rendered them auxiliary to Imperial purposes. With the testimony of such men as Mr. Hudson, and Mr. Chaplin, on this question, we believe it to have been extreme timidity on the part of the Legislature to have hesitated in undertaking, while they were yet unoccupied, the management of the trunk lines of railways through Ireland, leaving it to and assisting private companies to carry on the branch lines. For Government, as far as it is yet possible, not to do this, would be to forego a great advantage—one, of which the most dull must now perceive, it would have been well it had availed itself at an earlier period in the English railroads. And at all events to refuse to apply, on some modified plan, to the construction of railroads, the public labour which yet remains available, appears to be little short of downright fatuity. The distinction between civilized, half-civilized, and barbarous states, at this day, will be found in their internal modes of communication. The first, like England and Belgium, have railroads branching out in every direction; the second, like Spain and Ireland, have military roads alone; the third, like Africa and South America, have the trackless wilderness, the bye-road, or the rugged mountain pass. No exertion can fully develop the resources of Ireland, without railroads. It gives employment now—it affords profitable employment in a thousand different ways hereafter.* Government has to choose between the feeding of hundreds of thousands idly and unprofitably, or directing their labour to the completion of works of inestimable

* See Mr. Hudson's speech on Irish Railway Bill, even with all the deductions which the reply of Sir Robert Peel and of the Chancellor may require.

value to the empire. To suppose that they will prefer the one and neglect the other, is to imagine that they are alike devoid of sense and feeling. We think far otherwise of them, and therefore do we look to some plan being proposed by Lord John Russell, in the present Session, for the encouragement of Railways in Ireland. In expecting Government to act thus for Ireland, we only expect them to do that which every Government in Europe has done, but in England. The choice is between unproductive doles, and productive labour. Choose.

There are other topics, which press for our consideration—the tenure of land in Ireland*—emigration†—an absentee tax;‡ but which we pass by, leaving it to the legislature to deal with, discuss them calmly, and treat them fairly. We feel it, however, the less necessary to dilate on the settlement of any of these subjects; because, we conceive, (and we cannot repeat it too frequently,) that all would be facilitated by the establishment of a merciful, and at the same time a stringent Poor Law. It would, we believe, be an insuperable bar to the double operation of rack-renting, and insecurity of tenure; bestow in time upon Ireland, the blessings of a resident and careful proprietary, and put an end to that system, which has existed but too long, and through which the Irish emigrants have been treated as the step-children of the Government—harboured without tenderness, and cast off without care.

In suggesting the promotion of the Irish fisheries, the cultivation of the waste lands, and the formation of railroads, we propose means by which Ireland may be capacitated to bear the burden of a Poor Law, and we also point out the mode and the manner by which constant employment may be afforded to the able-bodied poor. To give constant employment to the population would be to confer on them the greatest of blessings; that which beyond all others they most desire, and to procure which,

* See a most valuable speech made on this subject by the Earl Fitzwilliam in the House of Lords, March 23rd, 1846.

† See Debate in House of Commons on Emigration, March 4th, 1847.

‡ See Ramsay's "Proposal for Restoration of Irish Parliament," p. 9.

they become temporary, or permanent exiles. None feel more bitterly than the Irish poor, that one of the greatest misfortunes of their country is, that its industry is, like its epidemic fever—intermittent—that it perpetually oscillates between compulsory idleness, and insufficiently compensated toil.*

It may be said, and we are certain it will be said, that the plans which we suggest must, if adopted, involve England in considerable expense. Undoubtedly they will do so, in the first instance; but did not the abolition of slavery involve an expenditure of £20,000,000? In the present instance, too, the expense will not be permanent, nor, like the million a month, if unaccompanied by other measures, an expense to which no man can foresee the certain termination. *Parties* have changed in England, but *its government* has ever remained; and *that* which now exists must take upon itself the consequences of *its* predecessors' acts. *The land* of Ireland is now afflicted—the curse of Providence seems to have fallen on *that* which the evil passions of man had blighted for centuries. It is said by a clever German authoress, "A stone may have a history, but only a creature with consciousness a destiny." Every acre of the land of Ireland *has a history*, in its triple confiscation; and what has been the sad destiny of its people, through the repeated misconduct of *the* English government? Without entering upon any political question whatever, look, we say, to the manner in which English governments have dealt with *the land*—displacing the natives to make room for the foreigner; refusing to recognize the right of natives to live on what had been their own lands; and, when planting Englishmen on lands in Ireland, not binding them by the laws of England. Even the *penal* laws were *land* laws; and so were the Whiteboy acts, insurrection acts, and coercion bills. We are not the defenders, neither will we be the maligners, of *the Irish landlords*; but if their conduct be the constant theme of execration in every English journal, if their name has be-

* See on this subject, the eulogium pronounced on the untiring industry of the Irish labourers, delivered in the House of Commons by Mr. Wakley; a gentleman who has devoted his life to a study of the condition of the poorer classes in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Debate in House of Commons, on "Fever (Ireland) Bill," March 18th, 1846.

come a bye-word of scorn and a term of reproach in every civilized state,—let it be remembered that *the* English government, and the laws that government proposed or sanctioned, have rendered them “the wretches” which they are now declared to be, by inducing them to believe that their acts were to be without responsibility, and their crimes without punishment.*

What, then, is *the cause* of the present state of Ireland? What the normal state of Ireland, as described by one full of unchristian and anti-Irish prejudices? And whether is *the* English government in any way responsible for the miserable condition of the Irish population?

On these three questions we mean to quote *English* authorities.

First, as to the cause of the present state of Ireland, it is said by the Earl Fitzwilliam.

“He asked why was the rural population of Ireland what it was? He asked wealthy London—he asked wealthy England—why Ireland was poor? Who had been the cause of the poverty of Ireland? He said that *England had been the cause—the original tyranny of England*. Was Ireland to be regenerated by Ireland herself? You must assist in this great work; you could not escape from the duty of it, even if 22,000 Irish paupers had not in one day been relieved out of the pockets of the ratepayers of Liverpool. This proposition was too true, the inference to be derived from it was too striking, not to impress itself on their lordships’ and the public mind of England. He thought it was wise to enable the land-owners of Ireland to assist in regenerating the country.”†

Secondly, as to the normal state of Ireland, it is thus described by the *Economist*.

“There a great police scattered over part of the country, has reduced the bulk of the people to be, in ordinary matters, little better than the automatic servants of the Government and the landlords; there two sets of clergymen in almost every parish, have limited freedom of thought, and have checked freedom of action; *there education has been provided for the mass*; there a set of gentlemen, hostile to some extent to the native population and stipendiary magistrates, have administered every part of the law, and left the

* “Infelices esse eos, qui omnia sibi licere existimarunt.” Ammian. Marcell. Lib. xxvi. § 10.

† Debate in the House of Lords, January 25th, 1847.—*Morning Herald* report.

people with no other task in their country than that of cultivating potatoes. *They have been deprived of all legitimate motives for exertion. In them honourable ambition has been killed.*"*

The third question, as to whether the English government is in any way responsible for the miserable condition of the Irish population, is thus answered by the *Times* newspaper of Feb. 25th, 1847.

"The Irish ulcer is exhausting the resources of the empire. It was to be expected that it should come to this. The people of England have most culpably and foolishly connived at a national iniquity. Not to go farther back than the Union, for now at least half a century England has had a collateral voice in Irish affairs. It has been notorious all that time that Ireland was the victim of unexampled social crimes. Besides lesser evils, there existed no public provision for the poor. Property ruled with savage and tyrannical sway. It exercised its rights with a hand of iron, and renounced its duties with a front of brass. Age, infirmity, disease, and every form of weakness and bereavement were cast out to perish. The 'fat of the land,' the 'flower of its wheat,' its 'milk and its honey,' flowed from its shores, in tribute to the ruthless absentee, or his less guilty cousin the usurious lender. It was all drain, and no return. But if strength and industry fared but ill in a land where capital was in a perpetual flux and decay, how much more poverty and weakness? In an integral part of the British empire, on soil trodden by a British Sovereign, the landowner was allowed to sweep away the produce of the earth, without leaving even a gleanings for them that were ready to perish. And they did perish year by year continually from sheer destitution. The whole Irish people were debased by the spectacle and contact of licensed mendicancy and recognized starvation. *England stupidly winked at this tyranny.* Ready enough to vindicate political rights, *it did not avenge the poor.* It is now paying for that connivance. The dreadful consequences of the crime have recoiled both on the immediate agents and on the consenting bystanders. We are now beginning to wipe off the score of a long neglect. Such is the usual law of retribution. *If it is asked why we have now to support half the population of Ireland, the question answers itself—because, with our eyes open, we have deliberately allowed them to be crushed into a nation of beggars.*"

Nothing can be more true. For all that has happened, and all that is occurring, the English government, and through them the English people, must bear the conse-

* *Economist* newspaper, January 23rd, 1847, p. 87.

quences. They are responsible, because they have neither ruled Ireland as a province, cared for her as a colony, nor respected her as a nation. The expenses of misgovernment are great in proportion to its duration; and we suggest the means for their ultimate diminution—we even think, their certain extinction.

We have abstained, throughout this article, from all allusion to the "Irish Party," because we have already in another place, dwelt at some length upon the subject. Recent events have justified our anticipations. The party may now be said, practically at least, to have ceased to exist: factious feelings have predominated over its deliberations; the selfishness of a class has influenced its policy; and to those who do not consider the unpromising elements of which it was from the beginning composed, its fall will appear to afford another lamentable proof, that Irishmen cannot co-operate for any one great object—that, in the shipwreck of their country, they are less careful to preserve the vessel entire, than they are desirous to see those embarked with them exposed to peril, it may be to death, whilst each selfishly calculates he may possess himself of a plank, wherewith he can, perchance, by individual skill and daring, reach the shore in safety.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*Sketches of the History of Christian Art.* By LORD LINDSAY. 3 vols. 8vo. Murray: 1847.

WE regret that we have not room, in this Number, for more than a mere acknowledgment of having before us this learned and most interesting work. Of its merits we will not at present say more; because it is our intention to write more fully on it in our next Number.

- II.—*From Oxford to Rome: and how it fared with some who made the journey.* By a COMPANION TRAVELLER. London, Longman's: 1847.

THIS work contains the imaginary history of a youth, converted from High-church Anglicanism to Catholicity.

He is described so as to form a type of a young clergyman of that school: Ardent and eager, full of hope, nay, confident beyond his wary tutor, in the practicability of Puseyism, he receives orders with the most solemn feelings, renounces an early attachment which amounted almost to an engagement, throws himself, as a curate, into the work of a large manufacturing town, (Leeds, we suppose,) with every advantage; becomes dissatisfied with the incapacities and unrealities of Anglicanism; resigns, travels abroad; is smitten with the beauties of the Catholic system, and at length disgusted by the proceedings *in re Ward* at Oxford, embraces the Catholic faith. He then, with four other companions, enters a religious house in Italy. So far we could believe the outline of the tale to be true; for we know of many counterparts to it. But now mark the sequel. Eustace, the hero, soon begins to pine with useless regrets, and remorseful sadness; is ever quoting, "By the waters of Babylon, &c.," (and his companions do the same,) and at last dies rejecting (if not cursing) the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and making profession of what *is meant* to represent a Protestant principle—the Oneness of the Mediator. (P. 176.) To all this we have one very serious objection to make; it is, that there is not a word in the book to warn its readers that all this is a pure fiction. We are sure that many will be deceived. They will think that it did indeed thus "fare with some who lately made the journey:" and that the "Companion Traveller," bears witness to what he has seen. One such fact, as is here related, would weigh more with many minds, than the most acute reasoning. Satisfy them that they who have left Anglicanism for Rome, have found nothing in the exchange but disappointment, regret, remorse and almost despair, and they will justly place these results in the balance against any amount of argument or persuasion which we can bring. And again we repeat, the author of this little work will be thought by many to have brought forward such a case. We feel it, therefore, a duty to deny its existence; point-blank, unequivocal, universal denial do we give it. Not one of those who have joined the Church from the Universities, since the period specified in the book, has died. Moreover, we can name every one who has joined a religious community in England or abroad; that is in Belgium, for in Italy, Rome excepted, there is not, we can safely say, one. Let any one examine

the matter for himself. Any Catholic will direct his steps towards Charnwood Forest, or St. Wilfrid's, or Hodder, or almost any of our Colleges. There he will see the reality instead of the romance. Let him see how light the bond—how easy to be snapped by one act of will—which ties the convert to his chosen life of restraint and rigour. Let him enter in as a guest; and let him watch silently, converse as though unguardedly, or interrogate studiously; and let him judge by the results. Nay, we will not be satisfied with so little; he shall have better evidence than negatives. If he find the care-worn, pining frame and features of Eustace, the absent gaze, the stolen sigh, the "longing lingering look behind" towards dreary Anglicanism, then let him consider it an argument in his favour. But on our side let him require more. We will pledge ourselves that he shall have every opportunity of ample examination. He shall watch the student or the novice in church, himself unobserved; he may fall into his company as a casual stranger, or throw himself upon his conscience as one wishing to learn from his experience; and if he find not cheerfulness, joy, gratitude, delight at being what and where he is; if he hear not words of pressing invitation, of eager, loving, encouragement to hasten on and taste with him the sweets of peace and truth, and be partaker of his spiritual treasures; if he find not in countenance, in eye, in tongue, evidence of bright and serene security, nay of exultation and almost bliss, then let him believe that the latter part of poor Eustace's history is no fiction, and that recent converts have met with disappointment. But surely what they themselves have written to the contrary, ought to convince sufficiently the most incredulous.

There is a sad episode in Eustace's history still less true, or even probable, than the main story. Our Catholic readers will smile, when they hear that it turns on the existence of unhappiness, insecurity, and protestantism, lurking under the nun's veil. Puseyite ladies become nuns, and are miserable for what they have done. Whether such things may or may not be, it is not for us to say; it is enough for the present that they have not been. We say it with confidence, the whole is a fiction, and what is worse, a fiction put forward as though it were a truth. But there is one part of the tale, which we must qualify by a stronger epithet; it is positively calumnious, detestably

false. It is clearly intended, by it, to make Protestants believe, that any married clergyman who joins the Catholic Church will be, not merely permitted (where there is mutual consent) to separate from his wife, but compelled to do so; or at least that the poor lady must submit to this severing of what God has joined, whether she will it or no. Now every Catholic knows that such a course is not even advised; that if wished by the parties themselves it is scarcely permitted; and never till strict investigation has satisfied the authorities of the Church that it is a spontaneous, free, unbiassed and cheerful step on *both* sides, both wishing to serve God and Him alone, in separate paths of religious life, guarded by holy vows. "In Domo Domini ambulavimus cum consensu," would be the motto of such a blessed pair. And even then no consent would be ever given, unless the children, if any, either were by age beyond the want of parental care, or were amply provided with every requisite for their proper education.

III.—1. *The Unity of the Episcopate Considered*, In reply to the work of the Rev. T. W. Allies, M. A., entitled, 'The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism, upon Testimonies of Fathers and Councils of the First Six Centuries,' by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M. A. London, Richardson and Son: 1847.

2.—*A Letter addressed to the Rev. T. W. Allies*. By PETER LE PAGE RENOUF, late of Pembroke College, Oxford. London, Toovey: 1847.

MR. THOMPSON'S work is far too solid and valuable to be dismissed with a short notice like the present. In fact, we had actually an article on it written for this number, but have been obliged to postpone it from press of other subjects. It is, in truth, a much more careful answer than Mr. Allies's work deserves; for, admirable though the latter be in its candid and generous spirit, we never read a more shallow and inconsecutive treatise. It is hardly credible that a writer could bring together such facts as may be seen in Mr. Allies's pages, and gravely maintain that the doctrine to which they witness is the "sovereign and independent power of every individual bishop;" a doctrine extravagantly at variance, no less with the spirit and meaning of Church history in general, than with every single fact contained there in particular. Yet such is

unquestionably Mr. Allies's assertion; for not only does he make the statement above quoted (p. 17), but distinctly maintains also that the patriarchal system, in which he includes the papal, is "*not* strictly of divine right." (p. 54.)

Here, then, precisely it is that Mr. Thompson joins issue. "This," he says (p. 21), "is *not* the Catholic doctrine: it was not the doctrine of the Fathers and the Councils of the first six centuries." "The Catholic doctrine is, that the episcopate is one, indivisible, sovereign, and independent; and that every bishop has part in this episcopate, not as an independent individual, but as a member of the episcopal body." "That body consists of bishops corporately united, not only one with another, but with one as their head and connecting bond. This head and bond is the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter," (pp. 24, 30.)

Mr. Thompson's real controversy is, not with Anglican, but with simply Protestant, or with openly infidel, opinions. A person who can read history, and come to Mr. Allies's *positive* conclusions, must be beyond the reach of argument, and a subject only for our prayers. But there are facts which that gentleman has brought together, which present *primâ facie* difficulty in the way of *Catholic* conclusions, and tend to the inference that Church history is one unintelligible maze. These facts our author has confronted with singular accuracy and completeness. He applies to them the principle above quoted, and shows plainly that it is the only true mode of understanding and harmonizing them. He then proceeds to establish, that this very principle is precisely identical at bottom with Bellarmine's doctrine, and utterly inconsistent even with the Gallican notions. In fact, we cannot too highly recommend the study of Mr. Thompson's work; and we hope, in our next number, to give a fuller account of its argument.

Mr. Renouf's Letter to Mr. Allies is connected with the same general subject, but with a different part of it. Mr. Allies, characteristically enough, having maintained that the internal organization of the Church possesses no higher than a human sanction, yet calls organic unity an *essential law* of the Church (p. 198); and then immediately afterwards proceeds to maintain that this *essential law* may be broken, and yet the *essence* of a Church not neces-

sarily destroyed. Further, he holds, that the Church in communion with Rome is destitute of the attribute "Catholicity;" and, further still, that there are practical corruptions in the latter Church which show her marked inferiority to the "undivided" Church Catholic of a former age. It is to these allegations that Mr. Renouf addresses himself; and he meets them in a very masterly way. On the two latter heads he points out in substance, (1.) that the Church was Catholic on the day of Pentecost, when she was confined to one city in an obscure province of the Roman empire, and much more may be so now, though many may have chosen to schismatize from her; and (2.) that *worse* practical corruptions existed in the times of the Fathers than are even *alleged* at the present day. There is also a very valuable historical discussion on the conversion of Russia, showing (in opposition to Mr. Allies) that the Church which effected that conversion *was* in communion with Rome.

IV.—*A new Comparative French Grammar, and Phraseological Reference Book, prepared expressly for the Royal Children of England.*
By MARIN DE LA VOYE. London: C. M. Law. 1847.

It has been said that there is no royal way to learning; and particularly to the knowledge of languages. M. de la Voyer has given practical evidence of his faith in this axiom. A French Grammar, the pages of which, compactly printed, reach the awful and somewhat ominous number of 666, and that only forming one work of a "Grammatical Series," is evidence enough that Royal children are doomed, like meaner mortals, to fight through their accident, and to battle with the elements of grammar. And yet M. de la Voyer shows, by examples, that his is in truth a short work. But long or short, it is undoubtedly an able and a learned work: and independent of the fashion which royal patronage may confer on it, we sincerely believe that it is sure to make its way, by its own merits, to general acceptance. We have found much in it that would be sought in vain, in common grammars; though not partial to over-much of what is called philosophy, in grammar, we like what there is of it in this; while at the same time it is a thorough practical work, that is, one by which a person may learn to speak the language—

and that is more than we can say of many books of the kind.

V.—*The National Music of Ireland, containing the History of the Irish Bards, the National Melodies, the Harp, and other Musical Instruments of Erin.* By MICHAEL CONRAN, Organist of St. Patrick's, Manchester. Dublin, Duffy: 1846.

THIS work is another proof, if more are wanting, of what we have more than once had occasion to remark in the course of this Number, that there is a growing interest in all that relates to the antiquities, learning, and history of Ireland. The Music of Erin has surely a right to partake in this. It links itself, in a thousand ways, with every one of these objects of affectionate research. It reaches back to the earliest period of national existence; its musical instruments are among its most curious archæological remains. And to our taste, a *Stoc* or trumpet, and a *Cruit* or harp, is a more interesting relique of antiquity than bows or arrows, or warrior's mail. The bard too is a more pleasing character to contemplate than the hero of a thousand frays; the stiller of passion, the smoother of the roughnesses of savage life, the inspirer of lofty and gentle thoughts, the framer of wise laws, and the chronicler and immortalizer of great deeds and men. How naturally his office prepared the way for the nobler morality of Christian faith; and how much the ground must have been broken for its worship to a nation that could ever listen to music, without satiety. *Trahitur dulcedine cantus*, may have been said of the Irish people. Their ears and hearts were attuned to the sublime strains by which Christianity replaced their native music, and the still sublimer doctrines which they conveyed. And so in fact it was. The Bardic education, and Bardic Colleges, required but comparatively little to have engrafted on them the monastic rules of the Catholic Church; and learned monks and saints succeeded to the inheritance of the harpers of more ancient times. Thus far Mr. Conran's task belongs to the domain of archæology and history; and we gladly acknowledge that he has availed himself of every ancient fragment of evidence, as well as of every stray tradition, to construct as complete a history as could be expected, of the national music of Erin. But

another part remains, which required different qualifications in the writer—the technical or scientific view of the subject. Into this Mr. Conran, as himself of the craft, and duly qualified, has boldly entered; and we think with good success. He has endeavoured to establish the exact relations between the early Irish music and that of other countries, ecclesiastical or profane. We are sure that his work will meet with the hearty approbation of all that take an interest in his subject. And what soul with any music in it has not learnt to love and prize those “Irish Melodies,” which have been imperishably rescued from oblivion, by the Bard of Erin?

VI.—*A Few Earnest Thoughts on the Duty of Communion with the Catholic Church.* Affectionately addressed to an Anglican Friend, By A RECENT CONVERT. London: Richardson and Son, 1847.

WILL meet, we trust, with the careful attention of those for whom they are designed. The Catholic reader, too, will be much interested to see the brief and compendious, yet lucid and forcible, statement of the general question, which he will here find. Being in the form of a letter, a greater *particularity* of appeal is practicable than in a more formal treatise.

VII.—*The Eternal Happiness of the Saints.* Translated from the Latin of the Venerable Cardinal BELLARMINE, By the Rev. JOHN DALTON. London: Richardson and Son.

THOSE who know the Gradual of Cardinal Bellarmine, (we speak of unlearned readers,) and have been delighted with its curious and imaginative reflections, will welcome the present work as a great addition to our devotional literature. The meditations of the aged saint upon the joys of heaven, kindled into fervour by the near view of that happiness upon which “he meditated in the chamber of his heart,” cannot but be edifying and cheering to every Christian. Cardinal Bellarmine considers heaven under its scripture designations as a City, as a Kingdom, as a House, as a Paradise,—making bold use of the sensible images presented to our minds in Holy Writ, the richness and variety of his ideas give to the imagination the help which it so much needs when approaching the ineffable

vision which it is not given to the heart of man to understand. There is occasionally a quaintness in the style which reminds us of "Pilgrim's Progress." Speaking of the narrow way which leads to heaven, the holy writer says:

"But we will explain how it is that the gate of this most extensive House is narrow. The gate has four divisions—The threshold, the inner court, and two side passages—that is, four stones, one below, another above, and two at the sides; which, in our gate, are four virtues, essentially necessary in order to enter the heavenly house. These are faith, hope, charity, and humility."—p. 122.

And thereupon follow the most impressive and practical instructions, with which, indeed, the meditations are interwoven throughout. We consider that Catholics are much indebted to Mr. Dalton for this translation.

VIII.—*The Seven Churches of Asia, their Rise, Progress, and Decline; designed to show the Fulfilment of Scripture Prophecy. With notices of the Cities of Lesser Asia visited by the Apostles.* By the Rev. T. MILNER, M. A. London: Richardson and Son.

THIS is a reprint of a very well known work, in a popular form, and at a low price. It contains much curious information, defaced by bigoted and false views, of which we have not time or space now to repeat the innumerable refutations.

IX.—*The Apostolic Succession Explained; a Short Treatise in which certain Theological Questions of the day are calmly examined and resolved.* By a PRIEST OF THE ORDER OF CHARITY. London: Richardson and Son.

IT is impossible, in a notice like the present, to give any adequate idea of such a work as the one before us, of which every line contains matter of thought and instruction; we can but recommend it earnestly to the perusal of our readers, satisfied that there are none who may not derive great benefit from it. This little treatise can scarcely be called controversial, for the objections of opponents are not so much discussed, as met by a learned, clear, and authoritative exposition of the Catholic doctrines upon the authority and supremacy of the successor of St. Peter.

The distinction between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction—between the hierarchy of order and the hierarchy of jurisdiction; and the question of what in these more abstruse distinctions is matter of Faith, the nature of schism, and other subjects of great importance, with the consequences flowing from them, are laid down briefly, but with great clearness, and will inform and settle the opinions of many Catholics. We should think the work must also make a great impression upon Protestants, for there is something in the structure of the Catholic Church, so simple, consistent, and suitable, so adapted to produce order and peace, that, with that key-stone to the arch, the Divine promise of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it is evidently *perfect*—perfect as respects this world; and we should think no impartial mind could require more than once to see and understand it as a whole, in order to recognise in it the work of Divine wisdom.

X.—*History of the House of Austria.* By WILLIAM COXE, F. R. S. Vol. i. (Bohn's Standard Library.)

THIS is another addition to Mr. Bohn's valuable collection, of which we have already had several occasions to speak most favourably. Coxe's historical works are already too well known in English literature, to require any further notice here, beyond our congratulating the lovers of historical lore, on their now being made more accessible to many, who before could hardly have aspired to the possession of them. At the same time, a Catholic need not hope to find, in a work written by a Protestant Archdeacon, a favourable, or even an impartial account of events connected with religion. The history of the House of Austria embraces, necessarily, that of Luther, and the so-called Reformation. While, therefore, the writer is much more just than his Protestant predecessor, in his estimation of the character of Maximilian, he is thoroughly Protestant himself in describing the character and conduct of Luther. It is not a little comfort to us to find ourselves living in a new era, in regard to these matters. Brief as is the interval since the death of Archdeacon Coxe, we have gone through a century of improvement in historical ideas; Luther has been stripped of his saintship, and the Reformation of its charms; nor is either likely to recover the loss.

XI.—*The Fortunes of Colonel Torlogh O'Brien. A Tale of the Wars of King James.* Dublin, James McGlashan, 21, D'Olier Street, and William S. Orr and Co. London: 1847.

THIS is a strictly anonymous publication, but we hope to meet the author again; for he has given us, what we begin to feel a great desideratum in these times, a genuine and stirring novel. We were a little afraid at first of an "historical romance," at best a questionable sort of composition, and which could have little chance of pleasing, if it were drawn from that most unsatisfactory portion of English history, the brief struggle made by King James II. in Ireland; but the "*Fortunes of Colonel Torlogh O'Brien*," tells really, as it professes to do, the story of individuals, with no more of the history of the times, than is requisite to give vraisemblance and spirit. The Castle of Glindarragh is defended by Sir Hugh Willoughby, a Protestant gentleman and his friends, from the attack of the Irish peasantry; the siege is powerfully described, and they are rescued at length from imminent peril by the troops of King James, headed by Colonel O'Brien, the Irish and Catholic lord of the castle. The old knight is transferred with his daughter to Dublin, accused of high treason, he defends himself before King James; many and various are the characters that gather round him as the chief point of interest. Jeremiah Tisdal, a stern old puritan, the knight's long tried friend, is brought by fear of death to give evidence against him; and the remorse of this man, who has been a murderer and is now striving to lead a better life, but always pulled back by an associate of his crimes, who from time to time starts up before him, is powerfully drawn; there is much that is pathetic and much that is humorous in the story, which is too complicated to be easily condensed; but at last, after the defeat of King James, Colonel O'Brien, after many hair breadth escapes, becomes the husband of the beautiful Grace Willoughby, and undisputed heir of the castle and lands of Glindarragh.

FORTUNES MADE BY ADVERTISING.

From a small pamphlet, entitled the "Art of making Money," an extract has been taken, and is going the round of the provincial press, pointing out the facility of making immense sums by the simple process of continuous advertising. Doubtless large sums have been, are, and will be made by such a system by certain persons of ability, who no doubt would make their way in the world if called upon to play different parts on the great stage of life; but to suppose that men in general must as a matter of course acquire wealth by such means, is as absurd as to imagine that all the penniless and shoeless of London are capable of rising to the dignity and wealth of an alderman or the lord mayor of London simply by reading the "Young Man's Best Companion." Money is not so easily made as the writer of the article referred to would lead people to suppose; if it be so, few need be poor. But to our text: fortunes made by advertising. Undoubtedly the greatest man of the day as an advertiser is Holloway, who expends the enormous sum of twenty thousand pounds annually in advertisements alone; his name is not only to be seen in nearly every paper and periodical published in the British Isles, but as if this country was too small for this individual's exploits, he stretches over the whole of India, having agents in all the different parts of the upper, central, and lower provinces of that immense country, publishing his medicaments in the Hindoo, Oordoo, Goozratee, Persian, and other native languages, so that the Indian public can take the Pills and use his Ointment, according to general directions, as a Cockney would do within the sound of Bow bells. We find him again at Hong Kong and Canton, making his medicines known to the Celestials, by means of Chinese translation. We trace him from thence to the Philippine Islands, where he is circulating his preparations in the native languages. At Singapore he has a large depôt: his agents there supply all the islands in the Indian Seas. His advertisements are published in most of the papers at Sydney, Hobart Town, Launceston, Adelaide, Port Philip, and indeed in almost every town of that vast portion of the British empire. Returning homewards, we find his Pills and Ointment selling at Valparaiso, Lima, Callao, and other ports in the Pacific. Doubling the Horn, we track him in the Atlantic—at Monte Video, Buenos Ayres, Santos, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco; he is advertising in those parts in Spanish and Portuguese. In all the British West India Islands, as also in the Upper and Lower Canadas, and the neighbouring provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, his medicines are as familiarly known, and sold by every druggist as they are at home. In the Mediterranean we find them selling at Malta, Corfu, Athens, and Alexandria, besides at Tunis and other portions of the Barbary States. Any one taking the trouble to look at the "Journal" and "Courier" of Constantinople, may find in these, as well as other papers, that Holloway's medicines are regularly advertised and selling throughout the Turkish empire; and even in Russia, where an almost insurmountable

barrier exists, the laws there prohibiting the entrée of patent medicines, Holloway's ingenuity has been at work, and obviates this difficulty by forwarding supplies to his Agent at Odessa, a port situated on the Black Sea, where they filter themselves surreptitiously by various channels into the very heart of the empire. Africa has not been forgotten by this indefatigable man, who has an agent on the river Gambia; also at Sierra Leone, the plague spot of the world, the inhabitants readily avail themselves of the Ointment and pills; thus we can show our readers that Holloway has made the complete circuit of the globe, commencing with India and ending, as we now do, with the Cape of Good Hope, where his medicines are published in the Dutch and English languages; and while speaking of Dutch, we have heard that he has made large shipments to Holland, and is about advertising in every paper or periodical published in that kingdom: we might add that he has also started his medicines in some parts of France: in some portions of Germany: as also in some of the Italian states. We have been at some little trouble to collect all these facts, because we fear that the article before alluded to, "the Art of making money," is calculated to lead people to spend their means in the hope (as the author states) of making a hundred thousand pounds in six years for his pains, by holding up as an easy example to follow such a man as Holloway, who is really a Napoleon in his way. Many may have the means, but have they the knowledge, ability, energy, judgment, and prudence necessary? Failing in any one of these requisites, a total loss is certain. Holloway is a man calculated to undertake any enterprise requiring immense energies of body and mind. No doubt he has been well repaid for all his labours; and is, we should suppose, in a fair way of making a large fortune. Of course it is not to our interest to deter the public from advertising; but, as guardians of their interest, we think it our incumbent duty to place a lighthouse upon what we consider a dangerous shoal, which may perhaps sooner or later prevent shipwreck and ruin to the sanguine and inexperienced about to navigate in such waters.

The Editor of the "Edinburgh Review," in a number published about three years ago, stated, that he considered he was making a desirable bequest to posterity, by handing down to them the amount of talent and ability required by the present class of large advertisers. At that period, Holloway's mode of advertising was most prominently set forth: and if these remarks, conjointly with his, should descend to a generation to come, it will be known to what extent the subject of this article was able to carry out his views, together with the consequent expenditure in making known the merits of his preparations to nearly the whole world.—*Pictorial Times*.



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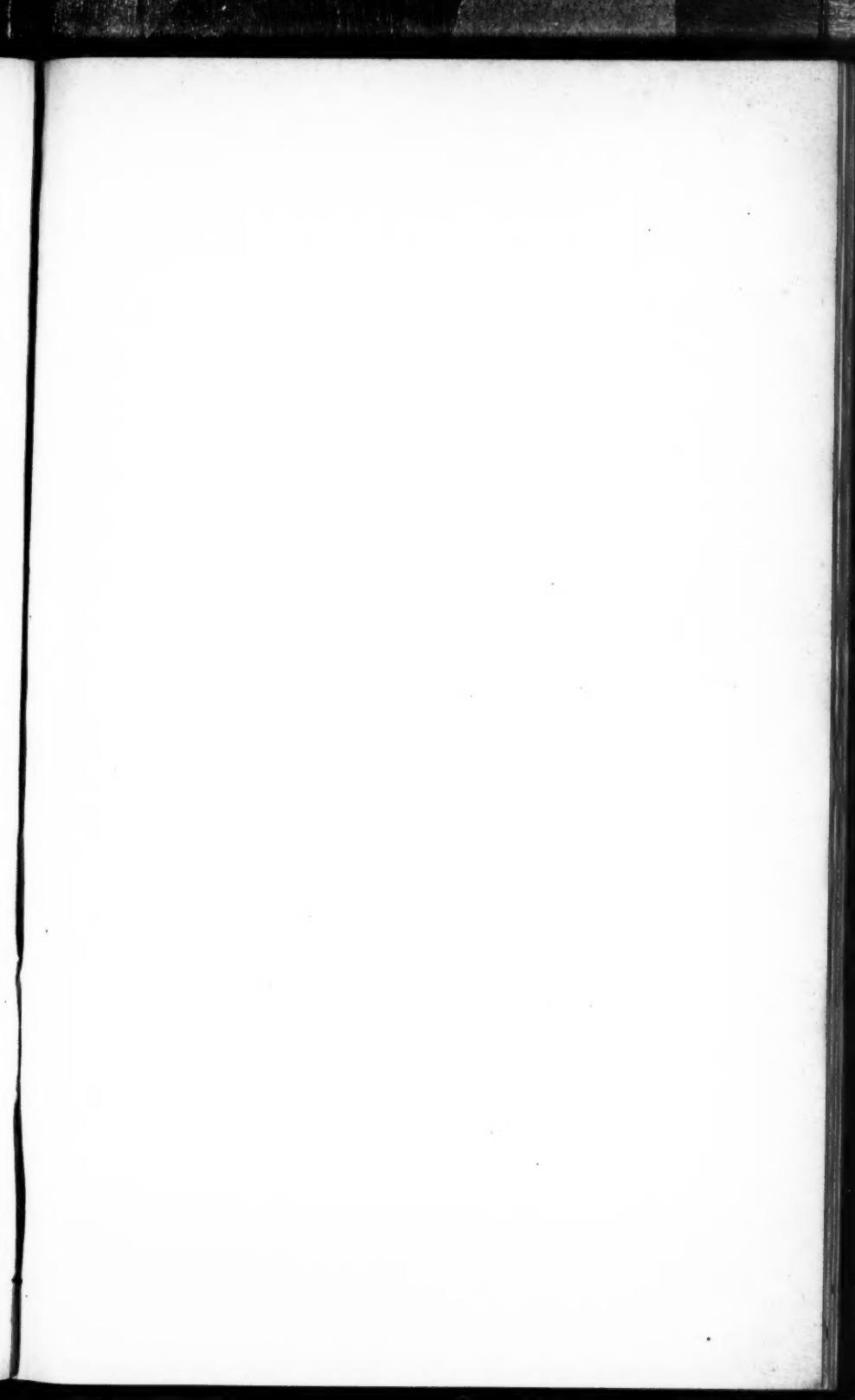
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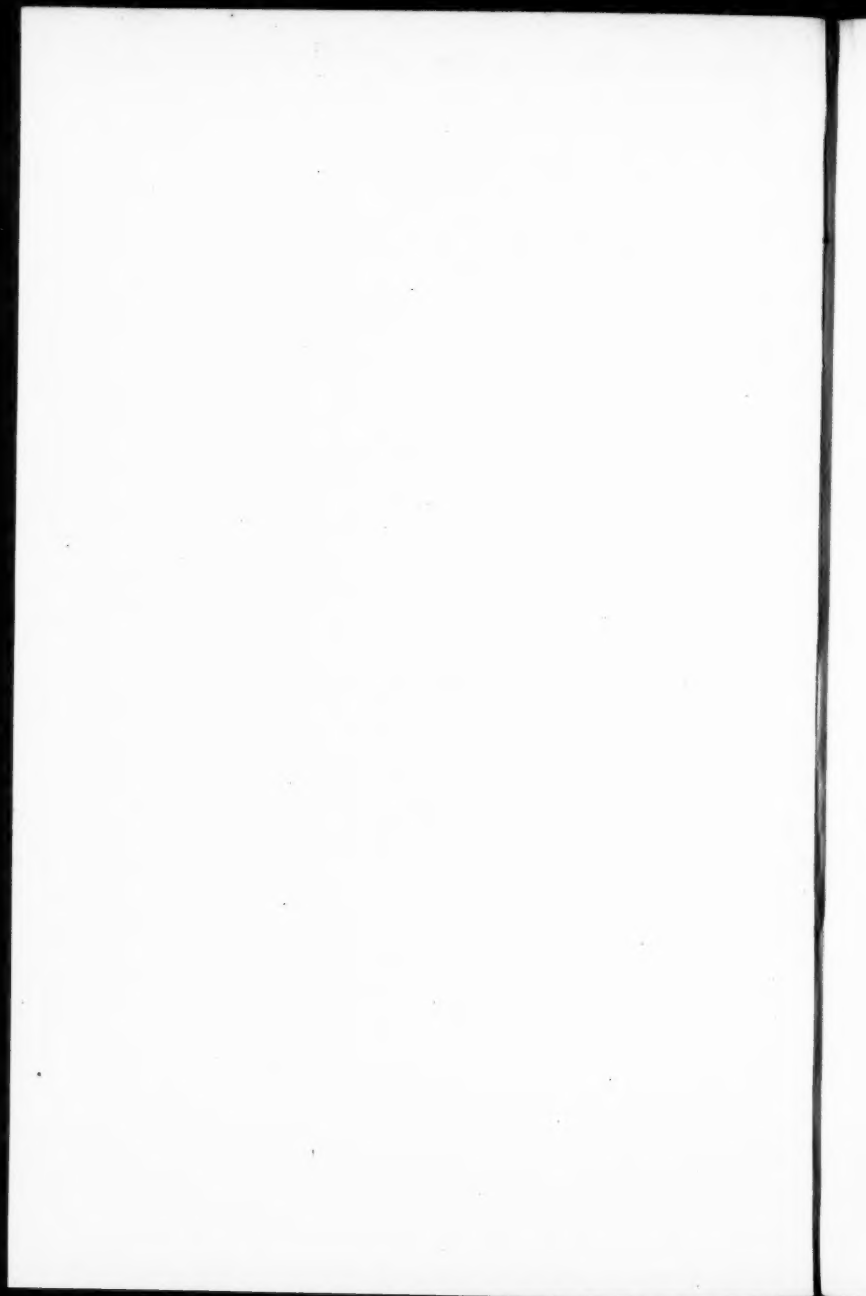
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In all Diseases of the Skin, Bad Legs, Old Wounds and Ulcers, Bad Breasts, Sore Nipples, Stoney and Ulcerated Cancers, Tumours, Swellings, Gout, Rheumatism, and Lambago, likewise in cases of Piles, the Ointment is proved to be a certain remedy for the bite of Moschettoes, Sand-flies, Chiefofoot, Yaws, and Coco-bay, and all Skin diseases common to the East and West Indies, and other tropical climates.

Sold by the Proprietor, 244, Strand, (near Temple Bar,) London; and by all respectable Vendors of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 22s., and 33s., each. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes.

N. B.—Directions for the guidance of Patients are affixed to each Pot and Box.

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KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.

A CERTAIN REMEDY for the disorders of the *Pulmonary Organs*—in difficulty of Breathing—in Redundancy of Phlegm—in Incipient CONSUMPTION (of which COUGH is the most positive indication) they are of unerring efficacy. In ASTHMA, and in WINTER COUGH, they have been never known to fail.

KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES are free from every deleterious ingredient, they may, therefore, be taken at all times, by the most delicate female and the youngest child; while the PUBLIC SPEAKER and the PROFESSIONAL SINGER will find them invaluable in allaying the hoarseness and irritation incidental to vocal execution, and consequently a powerful auxiliary in the production of MELODIOUS ENUNCIATION.

Prepared and sold in Boxes, 1s. 1½d., and Tins, 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. each by THOMAS KEATING, Chemist, &c., No. 79, St. Paul's Church Yard, London.

Sold Wholesale by BARCLAY AND SONS, 95, Farringdon Street; EDWARDS, 67, and NEWBERRY, 45, St. Paul's Church Yard; SUTTON and Co., Bow Church Yard; and Retail by all Druggists and Patent Medicine Vendors in the kingdom.

To prevent spurious imitations, Her Majesty's Commissioners of Stamps, have permitted the words "KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES" to be engraved on each Stamp.

RECENT AND IMPORTANT TESTIMONIALS.

Copy of a Letter from "COLONEL HAWKER," (the well known Author on "GUNS AND SHOOTING.")

Longparish House, near Whitchurch, Hants.

October, 21st, 1846.

Sir,—I cannot resist informing you of the extraordinary effect that I have experienced by taking only a few of your LOZENGES. I had a cough for several weeks, that defied all that had been prescribed for me; and yet I got completely rid of it by taking about half a small box of your Lozenges, which I find are the only ones that relieve the cough without deranging the stomach or digestive organs.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

To Mr. KEATING, 79, St. Paul's Churchyard.

P. HAWKER.

Birkenhead, near Liverpool, Jan. 8, 1847.

SIR,—I have been afflicted with a severe cough and shortness of breath, for nearly eight years, and after trying numerous remedies, did not find myself any better. I purchased a small box of KEATING'S LOZENGES of you, from which I found great benefit. The second box, 2s. 9d. size, completely cured me, and I can now breathe more freely, and am as free from cough as ever I was in my life. Hoping that others, similarly afflicted, will avail themselves of so certain and safe a remedy,

I remain Sir, yours faithfully,

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

To Mr. Geo. H. Howell, Chemist, 72, Dale Street, Liverpool.

CURE OF ASTHMATIC COUGH OF TWENTY YEARS' STANDING, BY THE USE
OF KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.

Second, near Melksham, Dec. 8th, 1846.

SIR,—I was troubled with a bad Asthmatic Cough for twenty years, till I heard of your COUGH LOZENGES, through the Newspapers, and with gratitude I send you an account of my Cure, solely by the use of them. My Cough was so bad in 1843, 4, and 5, that I was scarcely two months without being under the Doctor's care: at the end of 1845 I was so very ill with it that my Wife and friends, and even the Doctor, gave me up; I could not walk across my room, and the phlegm nearly choked me—to this statement I will, if required, give my testimony on oath; but thanks to your valuable Cough Lozenges, they effected a complete cure; for the first night I took them I slept without coughing, and in a week I was quite well, and have not taken any other Medicine, or been laid up one day since. I wish, for the good of my fellow-sufferers, that you would publish these facts.

I remain Sir, your obedient and grateful servant,

To Mr. KEATING, 79, St. Paul's Church-yard,

JOHN RANDELL.

78, High Street, Birmingham, Dec. 17th, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Having had occasion for a Cough Medicine in our Establishment, we tried your valuable Lozenges, and found them efficacious; and if I may judge from the increasing sale and popularity, they must give general satisfaction.

I remain, dear Sir, your's respectfully,

To Mr. T. KEATING, London.

HENRY WINNALL.

Manchester, St. Peter's Hotel, George Street, Feb. 18th, 1847.

SIR,—In justice to yourself and duty to the public, I am induced to bear testimony to the efficacy of KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES, which I am in the constant habit of taking, being troubled with a cough and difficulty of breathing, often arising from indigestion, &c. I have also recommended them to many persons who have been suffering from coughs, and in no instance have I known them to fail. In one particular, where the lady had obtained the best advice, these Lozenges were found successful. I shall be glad to testify to their merit to any one who may feel disposed to make a trial.

I am Sir, your's gratefully,

SUSAN PILKINGTON.

To Mr. KEATING, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

DEAR SIR,—Having been for a considerable time during the winter, afflicted with a *violent cough*, particularly at lying down in bed, which continued for several hours *incessantly*, and after trying many medicines without the slightest effect, I was induced to try *your Lozenges*; and by taking about half a Box of them, in less than twenty-four hours the *Cough entirely left me*, and I have been perfectly free from it ever since.

9, Claremont Terrace, Pentonville, I am, dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

Feb. 17, 1845.

JAMES ELLIS.

Mr. KEATING.

(Late Proprietor of the Chapter Coffee House, St. Paul's.)

10, Upper King Street, Russell Square, Jan. 21st, 1847.

SIR,—Having some time ago had a violent inflammation on the chest, I have since that period been attacked with *violent Coughing* on leaving my bed during the winter months. This, I am happy to state, has been wonderfully relieved by taking two of your truly VALUABLE LOZENGES, just before leaving my bed.

I state this as I am confident any one similarly attacked will, like myself, find immediate relief.

Your obedient Servant,

To Mr. KEATING, 79, St. Paul's Churchyard.

GEORGE COLE.

WEAK LEGS, KNEES, AND ANKLES.



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BAILEY'S TRUSSES are declared by many eminent surgeons to be the best; they are light and easy to wear, and if a cure is to be obtained, they will effect it. The patient is also carefully attended to by Mr. Bailey or his assistants during twelve months for One Guinea (the Truss included); by this means, a proper adjustment being always preserved, the inexperienced will be enabled to effect their cure in the shortest time possible. Trusses may be had as low as 7s. 6d. and 10s. 6d. Ladies attended by an experienced female assistant.

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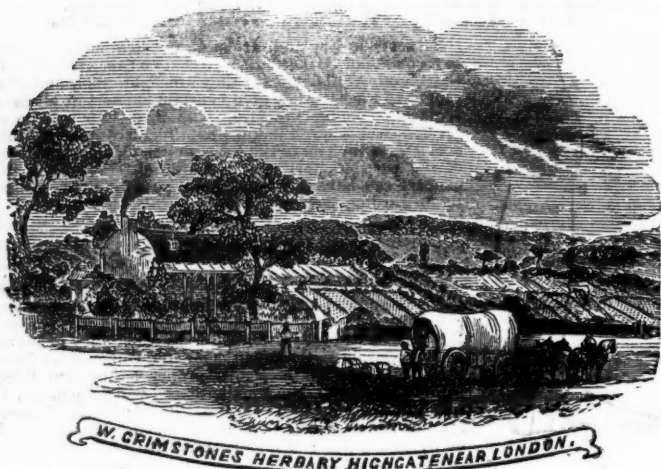
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GROWTH OF HUMAN HAIR, EYE-BROWS, WHISKERS,
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This wonderful essential spirit is drawn from Aromatic Herbs and Flowers; the power of which has been known amongst the Nobility upwards of Eleven years, and is a delightful Toilet Perfume.

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FEW WEEKS.

By using an essential Spirit drawn from choice Aromatic Herbs, the peculiar properties of which are known only to the Inventor, and although perfectly innocent in itself, will produce New Hair on bald places, caused by weakness of constitution, or where Nature has not bestowed this ornament of the Human Figure; it has been known to many of the Nobility and Gentry upwards of Eleven years, some of whom the Inventor most sincerely thanks for their attestation of its merits, in the certainty of restoring Hair, and giving it additional lustre and strength; its virtues are manifold—it prevents the Hair from falling off or turning grey, a few drops on the crown of the Head will remove the most distressing pain in that part, produced by or attended with faintness; and is acknowledged by the faculty as the only specific known to cure that disease of the Head, called *Porrigio de calvans* (which causes the Hair to come off in patches). This wonderful property is fully explained in a pamphlet containing testimonials to its Regenerating the Hair upon Bald places, entitled, “Three Minutes Advice on the Growth and Preservation of the Human Hair,” by W. Grimstone, Inventor of the Aromatic Regenerator for the Growth of the Human Hair, and a certain preventive of Headache and fainting; also a Toilet Perfume—bearing the Inventor’s Signature, Herbary, Highgate, near London. Sold only in Triangular Bottles, with name, &c. &c. Price, 4s., 7s., and 11s. each, Government Stamp included. Postage included, the 4s. will

be 4s. 6d.—the 7s., containing double the 4s., 7s. 8d.—four times the 4s. will be 12s., including the “Three Minutes Advice on the Growth and Preservation of the Human Hair, &c. &c.

Wholesale and Retail by all Chemists, Druggists, and Perfumers, and by especial appointment, the following Agents for London.—Messrs. Atkinson and Co., Perfumers and Medicine Vendors, Old Bond street; Messrs. Fisher and Toller, Chemists, Conduit street, Bond street; J. Sanger, Chemist, &c., 150, Oxford street; Messrs. Hannay and Co., Chemists, &c., 63, Oxford street; Messrs. Barclay and Son, Patent Medicine Warehouse, Farringdon street; Mr. Keating, 79, St. Paul's church yard; Mr. W. Edwards, Patent Medicine Warehouse, 67, St. Paul's church yard; Mr. Butler, Patent Medicine Warehouse, 4, Cheapside; Messrs. Sutton and Co., Patent Medicine Warehouse, Bow church yard; Mr. Johnston, Patent Medicine Warehouse, 68, Cornhill; Messrs. Langton, Brothers, and Scott, Wholesale Druggists, 225 and 226, Thames street; Messrs. Drew and Hayward, Wholesale Druggists, Great Trinity Lane. *For Edinburgh*—Messrs. J. and R. Raimes and Co., Druggists, 49, Leith Walk. *For Manchester*—J. Geresche, Patent Medicine Vendor, Manchester and Salford Advertiser Office. *For Enniskillen, Ireland*—H. Bevan, Chronicle Office. *For Banbury*—J. Potts, Guardian Office. *For Exeter*—T. Besley, Devonshire Chronicle Office.

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Sight Restored, Nervous Headache and Deafness Cured BY GRIMSTONE'S MEDICATED EYE SNUFF,

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This Snuff is universally recommended by the Faculty for its efficacy in removing Disorders incident to the EYES and HEAD.—It will prevent Diseases of a Scrofulous Nature affecting the Nerves of the Head.—In cases of Nervous Headache it is completely efficacious, and gives a Natural Sweetness to the Breath.—It may be taken as frequently as other Snuffs, with the most perfect safety and gratification to the Consumer.

This snuff is manufactured of British Herbs only, and in truth is a Genuine Cephalic Snuff.

OBSERVE THIS CAUTION.—W. GRIMSTONE is the SOLE INVENTOR, and the ONLY GENUINE IS PREPARED BY HIM, and SOLD IN CANISTERS, with his signature. See directions on the Label of each canister of his MEDICATED SNUFF.

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The Reader will be satisfied of the efficacy of this Medicinal Snuff by reading the testimonies of cure in cases of Ophthalmia, Gutta Serena, Cataract, Inflammation, Deafness, and Nervous Headache—also many instances of Polypus has been eradicated by this discovery.

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And on the Estates of the Dukes of Sutherland, Norfolk, Rutland, Newcastle, Northumberland, Buccleugh, at Richmond, the late Earl Spencer, and most of the Nobility and Gentry; and at the Royal Agricultural Society's House, Hanover Square.

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The unprecedented success of this invention in restoring, improving, and beautifying the Human Hair, is too well known and appreciated to need comment. The very fact of its having stood the test of nearly half a century of probation, and obtained the especial patronage of Her Majesty the Queen, H.R.H. Prince Albert, the whole of the Royal Family, and of every Court of the civilized world, and the high esteem in which it is universally held, together with numerous Testimonials constantly received of its efficacy, afford the best and surest proof of its merits. Price 3s. 6d.—7s.—Family Bottles (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s. per Bottle.

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